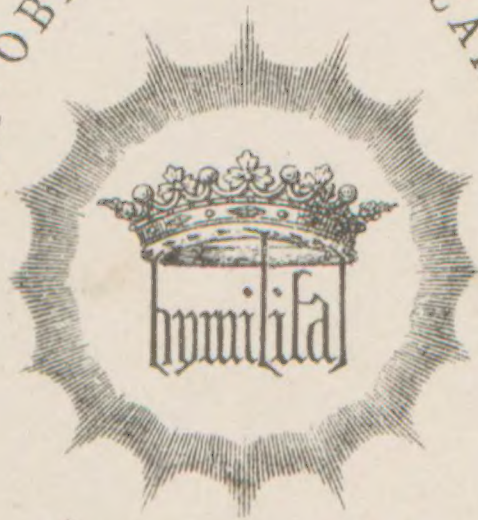


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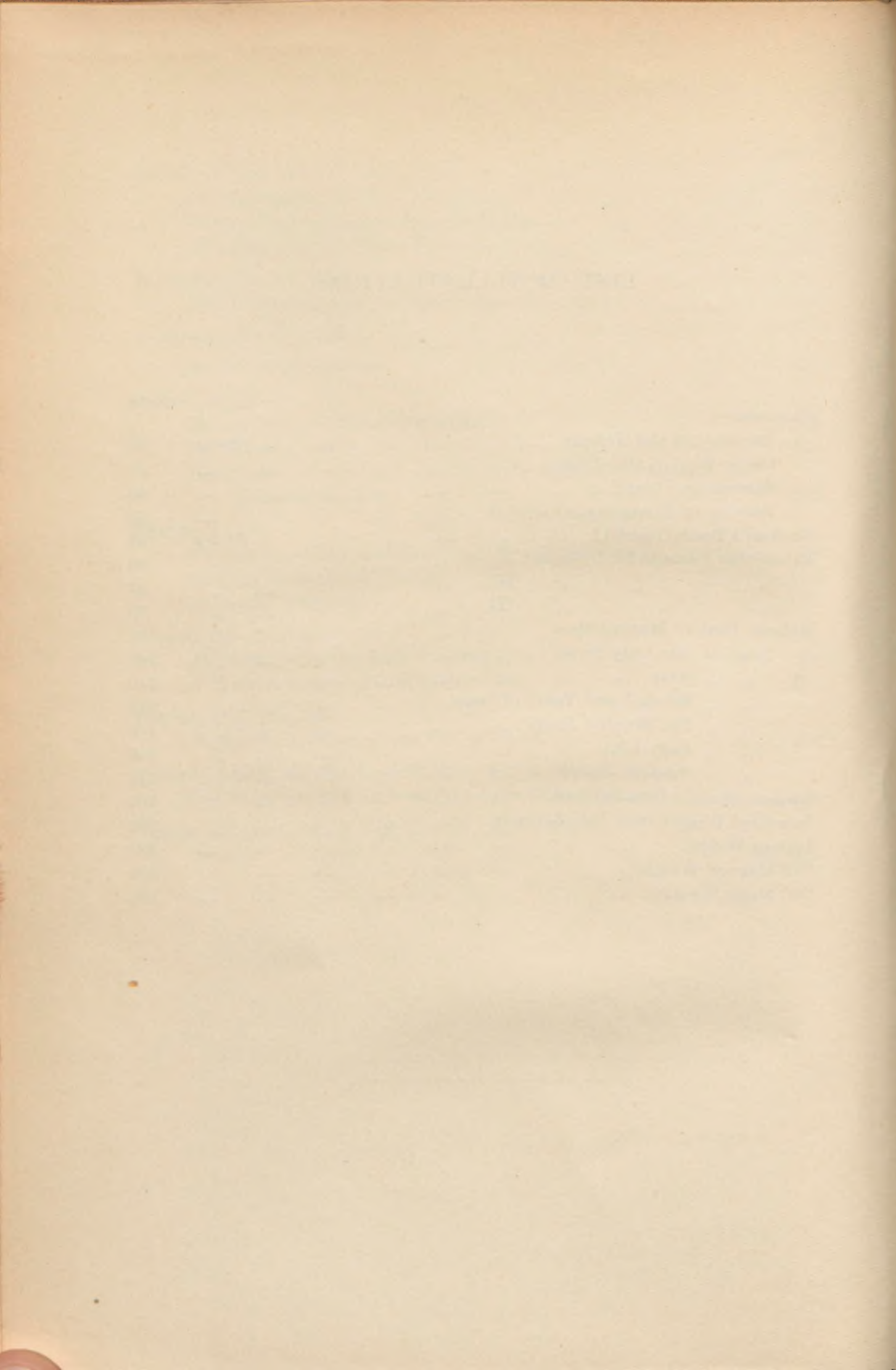
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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

REMOVAL OF THE SOCIETY'S OFFICES.

By the time this issue is in the hands of our Subscribers, the Offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund will have been established in their new freehold premises, No. 2, **HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.**, and all letters should now be so addressed.

Since the house became the property of the Society, it has undergone very complete repair and alteration, at the expense of the donor, to fit it for the purposes of the Fund. **Hinde Street** leads from the east side of **Manchester Square**, and **No. 2** is next door to **Mandeville Place**, and on the south side of the street.

The Office and Museum are on the ground floor.

The excavations at 'Ain Shems are now suspended for the winter rainy season. Unfortunately, Dr. Mackenzie has been seriously ill. When he found it necessary in the latter part of the summer to close the work, on account of the prevalence of fever among the workpeople, he retired to Athens, to complete his records in the Library of the British School, but within a month was laid low by dysentery. He expected to return to Palestine early in October, but a relapse prevented this; and although Mr. Newton reopened the camp, Dr. Mackenzie was unable to return to proceed with the excavations. Instructions have now been sent for both gentlemen to return to England, bringing with them all notes, plans, and

illustrations of the past year's campaign, to prepare them for publication, since the season will not allow of further digging before the end of March.

The Visits of Tourists to Excavations in Progress. As several correspondents have sent to the Committee the advertising prospectus of organizers of Tours in Palestine, which promise facilities for "spending the day" at the site now excavating, and include some very erroneous and exaggerated accounts of antiquities found elsewhere, it seems necessary to issue some caution on the subject. All subscribers, *on obtaining a Voucher from our Hon. Secretary at Jerusalem*, will be welcome to visit the excavations, and are encouraged to do so. Strangers will only be admitted, in limited parties, when provided with an order, from the same source, for which a payment towards the cost of the work must be made. Information can be obtained from Messrs. T. Cook & Son, at Jerusalem, or from the local Hon. Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman. Photographing will not be allowed except by special permission of the Director.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites in the Shephelah and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year just passed, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s. ; unbound, 3s. 6d.

At Jerusalem, on 14th October of last year, the new Children's Wards at the Hospital were formally opened and dedicated by the

Right Rev. Bishop Blyth. Dr. Masterman gave some account of the generous efforts of donors and workers who contributed to the building. The new Operating Room was also dedicated on the same occasion. Dr. Masterman made an appeal for further subscriptions on behalf of the Hospital, which, in view of the good work it accomplishes in Jerusalem, deserves encouragement.

A course of three "Schweich" lectures were delivered for the British Academy at Burlington Gardens by Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister on the 15th, 18th and 22nd December, the subject being "The Philistines, their History and Civilisation." The lectures were well attended and aroused considerable interest. They will be published in full by the British Academy in the course of this year.

Plaster casts of the raised contour map of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the map is $\frac{1}{2400}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet \times 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help in the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The income of the Society from September 16th to December 15th, 1911, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £349 15s. 9d.; from sales of publications, £64 10s. 4d.; making in all £414 6s. 1d. The expenditure during the same period was £597 1s. 9d. On December 15th, the balance in the bank was £546 10s. 8d.

A further amount of a little over £200 has been received from the Executors of the late Miss Mary Ropes, of Salem, Mass., U.S.A.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1910 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7d. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should send for a copy, price 2s. 6d.

The Arabic astrological treatise by a Jerusalem Christian native, translated and annotated by Miss Gladys Dickson, and first published

in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1908-9, can now be obtained in pamphlet form (price 1s. post free).

A reprint of the late Mr. Armstrong's book, *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, is now ready. The book has been out of print for some years, but has been frequently enquired for.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXIII, Part 6. An Aramaic Ostrakon from Elephantinê, by Prof. Sayce.

University of Liverpool: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. IV, Nos. 2 and 3. Excavations at Meroë in Ethiopia, by Proff. Garstang, Sayce, and Bosanquet; Hittite Bronze Statuette, by J. Offord; Translation of the Hittite Archives from Boghaz Keui, published by Winckler, by M. E. Williams.

The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XVI, Session 1909-10.

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3.

Some Early Amulets from Palestine, by Prof. J. A. Montgomery. Reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1911.

Revue Biblique, Oct., 1911: A Lihyanite Inscription from El-Öla, by Proff. Jaussen and Savignac; the Recent Excavations on Ophel, by Prof. Vincent.

Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 1911, No. 4. Site of Aphasrema (Apherema), by Prof. Guthe; the search after the temple-treasury in Jerusalem, by Prof. Dalman.

Zeitschrift of the preceding. The plants of Palestine, by J. E. Dinsmore and Prof. Dalman.

Echos d'Orient, July, September, 1911.

Litterarischer Palästina Almanach, 1911-1912, A. M. Luncz.

Palästina, 1911, Nos. VIII-X.

Loghat el-Arab: Revue littéraire, scientifique et historique, sous la direction des Pères Carmes de Mésopotamie.

Al-Mashrik: Oct., 1911: the Christian Churches of Damascus since the Arab Conquest, by Ibn 'Asākir.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, July-August, 1911.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Vol. VIII, fasc. 3 and 4.

Hā-ārets: The Land. Index of Ancient and Modern place-names of Syria and Palestine. Published by the Koheleth Society for the publication of educational books in Hebrew for the use of schools in Palestine.

See further below pp. 46-50.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

The Committee desire to draw the attention of Subscribers to the enclosed Banker's Order Form, the use of which would greatly facilitate the administrative work of the Fund.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSBERGER.

(Continued from *Q.S.*, 1910, p. 268.)

THE general character of the natives is altogether different from European conceptions. In the first place they are no idealists, but on the contrary, realistic in the strictest sense of the word, and in consequence, a stranger, and with much more reason a European traveller, who has come all the way from over the seas, must be rich and therefore put under contribution. The language, very sober at first meeting or in the morning, becomes very foul after a little more acquaintance, and is supposed to be very witty, especially if the answer can be made to rhyme with the question or observation received. Honour, honesty, truthfulness are very relative, and they will deal with much greater loyalty towards each other than towards Europeans, whom they do not consider their equal, and by no means superior, as the case may be. If a European should believe them thoroughly, he may be considered as an imbecile; if he does not pay at once what he is charged he is called avaricious; if he does pay extravagant prices he is a fool, and so on. Money can do anything provided it is not against the Mohammedan religion. The Christians of the Greek Church are of the stock of Palestine Christians, and those of the Maronite Church that of the Lebanon Christians. From these two Churches the other Churches have recruited their followers; in most cases, it is to be feared, money effecting the conversion from one Church to the other, whilst of Islam converts there are virtually none. The commercial turn of mind is bred into the population of the towns; ever since the Canaanites—as the word “Canaan” is applied in the Old Testament—honesty in the true sense of the word is rare. They know all kinds of tricks to palm off upon the fellahin or the Bedouin. For example, they will put a considerable number of pounds more into the *roll*, thus making the agriculturist believe that a *roll* of

cabbages must weigh at least $1\frac{1}{4}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ *rotls* of meal, or that a piastre offered to them for vegetables means of course a small piastre. Thus they give themselves at least an appearance of honesty: for they do not care to be *called* cheats provided they can cheat unawares.

The wheat market has an official measure, the *ṣaʿ* (صاع), equal to about 26 pounds of wheat (4 *rotls*). The Jerusalem *thimnet* is 8 *rotls*, wheat piled up. The measurer of wheat has his tricks, whether he measures for the buyer's advantage or for the seller's. If it is for the buyer's he will force corn into his measure and dig into the wheat with both fists, then pile carefully as much as he possibly can. If on the contrary he works for the advantage of the seller he will hurry the filling, and does not push in, or press, or shake, or pile up more than he is strictly bound to. The Israelites also used all kinds of tricks, but are bidden in the law to have "no divers measures" (Deut. xxv, 14): "good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over" (Luke vi, 38) is estimated lawful. While the measuring is going on the man calls out and repeats the number, and sometimes adds a rhyme or says instead of *one*, "Allah is one." Seven is omitted, being the number of the seven devils, which may come and take away the wheat; he then says: "in six," or else *samḥat*, "pardon," which vaguely resembles *sabʿat*, "seven." After eight (*thamaniṭ*) he adds: *Yā Rab il-amāneṭ*, "O Lord (give) honesty!" and so forth.

Disputes are generally of a very harmless character, in Jerusalem at least: a few curses and more or less insults, where the worst are of course such as concern the women. But they have rarely a tragic termination, whereas in Jaffa the knife is more easily drawn, and the seamen are known for their courage and spirit of vengeance. The inhabitants of Nablus and Hebron have more of the character of the fellahin, and are more vindictive. In former days the inhabitants of Neby Dāūd, near the Zion Gate, were considered very dangerous adversaries, but since they have been incorporated into the town they have become more quiet. Murders are almost unknown in Jerusalem: if murder is committed on a townsman it is certainly nine times out of ten perpetrated by a fellah or Bedawy in the country. Being of a very quiet disposition the men of Jerusalem are usually pacific, rarely carry arms, and are seldom seen out of the gates or suburbs after sunset.

Vices of all kinds are universal, and there is hardly any distinction between the inhabitants of the towns and of the country. The

reputed *'ard*, or reputation of the women, who are very carefully watched, cannot be called very meritorious; the Ramadan month affords more liberty and is in consequence marked by scandalous scenes, in spite of the jealousy and watchfulness of the husbands.

Truthfulness can hardly be expected in a high degree of cultivation in those towns where strangers abound, and where money can be so easily made by dissembling the truth, though the people cannot be called liars; nor can they be said to be lazy, their activity is limited by their wants, though their avidity is not less great than that of any other nation. But the hindrance to the craze of procuring wealth is to be looked for in their fatalism, and with few exceptions they will not work outside the hours of daylight, already very much lessened by the ablutions and prayers. "God will provide" (*yefrej Allah*) is the firm belief, just as in the time when Abraham going to offer his son Isaac (Gen. xxii, 8) did not draw back till he found the ram.

In Jerusalem, as a rule, the natives are decently clothed. In all towns the turban is considered holy, and is very carefully put on the head, and before lying down is always removed with equal care. When a man comes of age he receives the *laffit* or *'amel*, the second name being derived from *'am*, "nation" or "universal." The turban, being a sign of admission into the "universality" of believers, can never be used in a profane way. It is carefully arranged in the morning and the effort is made to keep it as decent as possible all day. The man has no quick movements and the turban remains in place, it is never disarranged, and cannot easily tumble off or be blown away by the wind as the European hat; in fact the easy way the latter is handled and removed seems to the Oriental the reverse of respectable. The Oriental does not remove the cap or turban as a sign of respect for a superior or on entering a sanctuary, but simply bows or touches the forehead as in saluting. Some Christians take off the turban in very holy places, but this is only imitated from their European tutors and ministers.

In direct contrast to the most sacred, the head and the turban, are the feet and shoes both vile; the shoes are left at the door of houses and sanctuaries: clean and unclean must not be brought into contact. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground" is the order given to Moses and Joshua (Exod. iii, 5 and Joshua v. 15). In the matter of shoes the Israelites differed little from their modern descendants, the

Palestine Arabs. Prayers are never said by a man with his shoes on, and it is a sign of great disrespect to talk about the head and turban or beard without an interruption for the shoes.

The construction of sentences is a very meticulous and exclusively Arab monopoly, which often causes the Arab to smile when a European talks and badly confuses "clean" and "unclean" ideas. An Arab must not say: "My shoes are inside," for the question can be put: "Inside what?" Of course the natural deduction with the Arab is a disrespectful one; it means "Inside your beard!" Moreover he cannot say: "There is dirt somewhere," for "Where is it?" may be asked, and again it is supposed to be "on the head." And even to push this idea of respectability further it may not be said: "It is here or there," for "it" may be a shoe, and "there," "on a beard," therefore to talk correctly and decently it is well to say: "My shoes are in the room" or "My foot was on the floor." Amongst themselves they are very vigilant, and the least *lapsus* is taken advantage of, to the great amusement of the bystanders who find these "*mots d'esprit*" only possible in the mouth of an inhabitant of Arabistan. If thus in an unguarded moment one would say *fihd*, "It is in it," of course the rhyme is guessed by more than one in *khara temalîhâ*, "Dirt fill it." "It," is the beard, and anyone thus taken inadvertently is said "to have fallen" (*waka'*), to the great hilarity of all. The beard is not touched in the streets, for it may be defiled by the thoughts of anyone, if it is held.

The turban of the Mohammedan native of Jerusalem is usually white, and of fine linen; the *shash* has been in use in Jerusalem for untold years: from the days of the priests and Levites. In Hebron the turban is red and yellow silk. In Nâblus it is red and white cotton, not so coquettish as the above two, and the Jaffa turban is white and gold, as the Damascus mode, and made of cotton. By the headdress most towns can be at once distinguished.

Those who pray regularly are also as a rule very clean as regards both their clothes and body; on the contrary, the others are especially filthy on the body, although in such places as Jerusalem, where water is scarce, there may be some excuse for them. Those who have no money to go to the public bath-houses have the Siloam spring—much frequented by the people of Jerusalem—but all the other towns have plenty of water-wheels and fountains everywhere. The bath-houses (*hamam*), are the well-known Turkish warm baths. They are not mentioned in the Old Testament, although cold baths

were frequently taken in streams. Water purifies, whether it be in flowing streams or even in stagnant pools, and as baths are generally religious ceremonies, both with the ancient Hebrews and with the modern Moslems, they wash and are purified (*yothar*). The lepers were enjoined to wash and be clean (Lev. xiv, 8), and so Naaman the Syrian was sent to wash in the Jordan and become clean (2 Kings v, 10). Cold water was evidently always meant, as we see in Job ix, 30: "If I wash myself with snow-water and cleanse my hands with lye."

Men go into the *hamām*, or warm bath, and after the different warm and hot steam baths are over, proceed to a warmed coffee-room in front of the building, where they quietly sip a cup of coffee and smoke an *arghileh* before leaving. Every movement of the Oriental is complimented, blessed and so forth, a special sentence is used in accordance with the action, and the actor answers with a well-known formula. Thus after a wash or a shave, the bathkeeper or barber will say: *marim*, "May it be grace or privilege to your body," and the other one will answer: *Allah yen'em 'alake*, "May God give you grace." After a drink of water the bystander will say: *hannipen*, "May it satisfy you," and the drinker will answer: *Allah yehannik*, "May God satisfy you." After a drink of wine or spirits the expression is only used ironically. When women go to the *hamām* they make a great fuss about it, and consider it a kind of picnic, which they have once a month. They then perfume themselves and put *kohl* on the eyes, and the event is talked about in the neighbourhood. Often the baths are taken in the house in a *hatti* or big wooden basin: in this case it is called *ghasil*. Pharaoh's daughter went with her whole suite to take a bath in the Nile, but Bethsheba and Ruth bathed in the house (2 Sam. xi, 2; Ruth iii, 3), and perfumed themselves and put on better clothes.

Markets are held in many towns once a week, and animals, fruits, and various agricultural and industrial products are exhibited. The Jerusalem animal market is held every Friday forenoon inside the Zion Gate. Ramleh has a Wednesday market for animals, milk, pottery, and so forth. Lydda has a Monday market, for mats and the like brought from the villages of the Plain of Sharon.

Beards are very much venerated. Old men have a full and hard beard, trimming it from time to time. The men of Jerusalem wear the longest beard—if we exclude the fellahin—they trim the beard all round, and cut away the part of the hair of the moustaches

overhanging the mouth; the cheeks and neck are shaved all round. The men of Hebron and Gaza have very short and well-trimmed beards, but the inhabitants of Nāblus and Jaffa shave the beard and have generally fine moustaches, but the trimming above the lips is obligatory. Christians of all denominations shave the beard, except when old age begins and the hair turns white. The Israelites had full beards and it was considered a shame to trim or shave a part of them.

Friday is the day of divine service, sermons are repeated from eleven to twelve, and most Moslems go to the mosque. If possible they go in newly-washed clothes, though this is not strictly observed. They have no special "Friday-clothes," and continue their work after divine service. Christians have special "Sunday clothes," but these are not so much for attending Mass as for the afternoon walks. After Mass they go back to their work.

The Jews keep the Sabbath from Friday sunset to Saturday sunset in the strictest sense of the word. They wear new, or "Sabbath-clothes," and never do any work on that day.

(To be continued.)

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

BY W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLEY.

(Continued from Q.S., 1911, p. 181.)

XXVI. *Account of a Journey from Nekhl to 'Ain Kulis—continued.*

THERE remained nothing more now than to say goodbye and go on our way in search of Saad. Hassan, his nephew, accompanied us a bit of the way, and I gave him some loaf sugar (which they prize immensely as medicine for children) and the price of the sheep, two reals. Of course this was not as payment for it but in lieu of some tobacco which I told him I would have given him had I had it. Hassan left us, but Selim went on with us to Saad's encampment. We found the Sheikh in an extremely bad temper. He was getting into trouble with the Azazma and had had to bring

his flocks into his own territory. A cantankerous old gentleman was Saad, and in perpetual hot water with his neighbours. We had been good friends on a former occasion, when he had taken an exaggerated view of the benefit I had conferred on society by picking him up after a bad fall off his horse. I had now come to fulfil an old promise and bring him a present of a blanket. I expected to be received kindly, instead of which I could see he was on the look out for something to quarrel about, and Selim, his son-in-law, provided it by abruptly telling him we had been to the well and taken water. "How dare you, without my leave?" shouted the old fellow now in a towering passion. I got almost as angry and told him since my only object in coming his way was to give him the blanket he wanted I should certainly not pay him a penny for the water. Luckily for me his own niece took my side and persuaded him to make me something of an apology, by saying he had not meant it, it was a joke of his. I was not to be pacified so easily, and refused to eat of the sheep they proposed killing for me. Suleiman (my guide), who had been away saying his prayers at the commencement of the quarrel, begged me not to go the length of refusing to eat of the old man's food, as that would be too great an insult to be borne. So I went up to the fire and took some of the bread. That night Suleiman and I loaded up with special care and slept a little way off, for Saad has a bad reputation. When we left very early next morning the old man came out to see us off, but he was still very grumpy, and had I not such good friends in his brother Wadd and Wadd's son Hassan, a really fine fellow, it would have been difficult for me to return to his territory.

We returned on our steps till we reached the point where we had scrambled up with such difficulty. Here Suleiman and the camels took an easier road, and I went down the steep track in hopes of finding the sheepskin I had dropped the previous day, but in vain. At the bottom Suleiman met me and we stopped for a rest, when we saw a man approaching. As usual I had to describe him to Suleiman, whose eyesight was no longer good. When I said "he wears a Farona." "Then that is all right," he exclaimed, "it is yours," and so it was, and the man was the musician of the previous day, who wandering down the track had found it and was bringing it to me. I give a list of the presents I made him for his trouble, it will give an idea of the odds and ends the Bedouin prize: some cotton cloth for a dress for himself, five needles, one mebbā or

large needle for sewing sackings, a small square of black silk which the women wear on their faces as a mask, and two rows of beads.

The road we took onwards on our way led eventually to the large track or road from Akaba to Gaza, which to the Bedouin is the boundary between Egypt and Syria. We reached the wells some two hours before sunset and found a good many of Suleiman's own people (the Teacha) about. Some were cleaning skins, others watering goats. I might as well mention that if on arriving at a well you find camels waiting to be watered whose *wasim* (tribe-mark) proves them to belong to your tribe, it is your duty to water them before you go on. If it is of another tribe you leave them alone until their own master comes to them, which may happen in a day or two.

An hour beyond these wells we entered the Wādy Moeilleh. Jebel Kadīs was now behind us and we were facing towards Jebel Moeilleh. I believe the wells in this wady are simply an overflow of the Kossaima, which is a very large spring and might easily with a shaduf or meset for water which overflows from the pool, be used for agricultural purposes, only the Bedouin has a rooted prejudice against any other than rain-water for his crops, and makes no use of the springs except as drinking water. We slept some little way up the wady. The next day began badly, for Suleiman was kicked on the head by his camel, and we lost some time while he sat down beside the beast and cursed it and its ancestors with great solemnity. By that time his head was better and we went on until we reached the Jebel Moeilleh, which we followed till evening, descending into the Wādy Arīsh, where we slept. People passed us, but at a distance. In the morning we went slightly out of our way into a small wādy to get some water from a reservoir Suleiman knew of. It was the private property of a Bedawy and had to be paid for, but it saved us going up the Jebel for the nearest wells. Three big wādies join at the point we reached in the Arīsh (Arīsh, Lussan and Moeilleh), and joining together, they form a sort of pass through the mountains which we went down. Then we followed the Arīsh until we reached Nekhl, occasionally taking a short cut where the wady zigzagged overmuch, but even then, scarcely ever beyond the ground comprised within the overflow.

It was tiring, for the water had churned the ground into mounds and hollows, and we were for ever going up and coming down ridges from two to three or four feet high. We slept one night in the

Arish, the next in Nekhl. It was as we came along this last part of the road so well known to us that Suleiman talked to me of his travels in Syria, and proposed taking me to the unexplored parts, tempting me with the description of important ruins he knew of. He is a clever old fellow and always ready at an emergency. His expedients may not seem to us very subtle—nor do those of Ulysses—and yet we are assured they succeeded. I should have no fear with Suleiman as my companion. At Nekhl I remained the night and most of next day, as this was my farewell visit to Sadi Bey for some time to come.

It was four next afternoon before we were on the road, and so we did not get further than the Wādy Abu Trefia, almost due south of Nekhl. Next morning, taking a straight line across to the Jebel Bodieh, where this is divided from the Jebel Suar by the Sahami Wady, we went on to the foot of Jebel Menaidra where we slept before entering Wady Sahami. Wolves and hyenas are said to be numerous just here, so we kept our camels close to us. We took our midday rest in the Wādy Sahami and were early at the wells of Fogeid, where I had been before. That night Suleiman dreamt a dream. Once before he had dreamt that same dream. A man had come to him and given him a blow in the face. The difference between the dreams was that this time Suleiman fought the man. I saw when he told me his dream next morning that it had much impressed him, but when, after a pause, he asked me whether we should go on that day, I never connected the question with his dream and said "of course," rather astonished at his having any doubt about it. We started: neither of us knew the road, but I wanted to put in the country between the Somar and Fogeid, and so pushed on down the Wādy Fogeid.

The scenery was grand. On each side of us the rock rose sheer some hundred feet: the water seemed to have knocked huge boulders about like playthings. In one place, of which I took a photograph, the very rock-wall on the side seemed to have been forced through, and tremendous blocks of stone have been thrown out into the middle of the wādy. Not a soul was to be seen, for the Debur were in temporary hiding, having come home from a successful raid, and the victims might daily be expected to return the compliment. But we had nothing to fear from either, the Debur were keeping quiet and the Suarka were allies of Suleiman's people, the Teacha.

We went down the wādy till about 12 o'clock, passing a few date trees and one or two pools of water, when we reached a point where it was impossible to go on any further. A drop of forty feet deep in the rock barred the way. We tried a side wady, but the bed of that became impossible. One side of the wady was sheer rock—in front of us boulders heaped one on the other and no possible way over for camels. There was nothing for it but either to go back the whole way to the Fogeid or to try and scramble along the other side of the wady which, although fearfully steep, might just be possible. It was an awful road. Five times the camels refused. Once they got stuck on a ledge so narrow that I, who was behind, had to crawl on all fours hanging on to the sides, to get in front of them and pull them up. Had the camels slipped they would have been done for. Our road thus lay on the steep side of the wady, occasionally coming down to its bed when it was possible to get along it, then again we were obliged to scramble along its sides when the bed was entirely barred with rocks. Camels hate stepping up an actual step, and when you have urged and pulled and shoved one till it does, it will make such a dash for it that it is as likely as not to knock you over. It was getting up such a place that Suleiman's camel fell, but by great good luck did not hurt itself seriously, and we were then just at the top of the wādy. So while I climbed up a mound to take an observation bearing back on the Bodieh and Somar, the camels had a rest.

We now made up our minds to follow a wide path along the Somar hills. All went smoothly for some time, when towards evening, we suddenly found all progress made impossible by a sudden precipice, about eighty feet deep, which yawned right across the wādy. The ground till then had been descending gradually towards the sea. We looked about and were beginning to fear that there was nothing for it but to go back when we found a small track leading up the side into the wādy beyond, which we discovered later on to be the Dirsā. Up this we went, the path between the rocks being so narrow that the camels could scarcely force their way through with the baggage. Three times they fell, and each time all the baggage had to be unloaded, and then put on again. At last it got too dark to go on and we encamped as best we could on the side of the wādy. Here Suleiman after much thought congratulated himself on having fought the man in his dream the night before. "Things have been bad enough as it is

to-day; what would have happened had I not beaten him?" he grumbled. Next morning, too, he put his hand on a scorpion which, however, did not sting him, being numbed with cold; this also was in some way connected with the dream. But the evil effects of it ended, for soon afterwards the wady below us became quite fair travelling. We came down to it, and a woman whom we met assured us that our troubles were over. Then we reached a good well, had a bath, and took an absolutely straight line to Suez, sleeping that night in the Wady Sudr, and the next day we arrived at 'Ain Musa at 12 o'clock and Chatt, opposite Suez, before sunset.

XXVII. *The Jerāfy District.*

When the Haj road from Nekhl to Akabah has reached the Jebel Risha, it skirts along the northern escarpment of these hills running due east. A path across the hills leads to the wells of the Themed, and is used by such pilgrims as are in need of water. This path rejoins the main road some six miles further east. The Jebel Risha range forms one of the most prominent landmarks on the pilgrim road. It extends its range east to the Husham et Tarāf, a peak worth noting, as from its summit can be seen Jebel Ikeram to the north-north-west, Jebel Orief en-Naga to the north, Jebel Ruga Sake to the north-north-east, Jebel Sueiga to the north-east, and Jebel Yittem to the East.

The road having passed the Husham et Tarāf reaches the Wady Jerāfy, running at right angles to it, north and south. Once over the Jerāfy the road runs between the ranges of the Jebel el-Biar to the south and the Jebel Safra to the north, both at some distance. The best well, but only used at an emergency because difficult to find, and not to be depended on as it is very often almost dry, is up in the hills. In the Jebel el-Biar, south of the road, there are two good wells. The Haj road runs due east, slowly rising till it reaches the summit of the Nagh, whence it descends by a long zigzag path to the level of the Gulf of Akabah, the shores of which it follows in a southerly direction until it reaches the town itself.

The Wādy Jerāfy commences its course on the Hadaida (due west of Ezion-Geber), about six miles south of Husham et Tarāf, and runs due north until at Wady Ubaira it takes a more easterly course. From the Husham et Tarāf to the Wady Tobeig, the Jerāfy crosses an open plain and is fed by wadies running down

from the hills along the Arabah to the east. All these wādies are well wooded with large bushes which afford good pasturage for camels and sheep. The first wells, half a day's journey from Husham et-Taref along the wady, belong to the Haiwat Arabs.

This portion of the wādy is avoided, or at least traversed with precaution, as it is a road often chosen by raiding parties, it being conveniently near the Arabah across which the eastern Bedouin can easily re-enter their own territory. The Jerāfy now runs between precipitous rocks for some distance until it reaches the Wady Ubaira from whence it takes a still more easterly course and runs down to the Arabah. There are two or three small wells along the wādy from four to six miles north of the Bir ej Jerāfy where water can be generally found. Then there is no more water until the Bir el-Ubaira is reached. This well is one which can only be used when time is of no importance, as the water dribbles out so slowly that we have sometimes been a whole night watering two camels and filling two water skins.

The country between the Jerāfy and the Arabah is divided by the one great Wady Egfi of which the head is in the Jebel Safra. Between the mountain ranges of the Arabah and the Jerāfy the valley is cut up by many watercourses covered with vegetation where herds, generally camels, find good pasturage.

If one leaves the course of the Jerāfy a little east of its junction with the Wady Ubaira and takes a northerly direction, the country becomes very hilly and difficult to travel over, especially to those unable, for some reason or another, to remain on the main roads. Looking down the Jerāfy at this point, before finally leaving it, you see it disappear among high hills to the east, green with an abundant vegetation. A strip of hilly country eight miles in width lies between the Wady Jerāfy and the open plain of el-Grieg. All this country is well grown with bush and grass and is a favourite grazing ground of the Azazma to whom it belongs. El-Grieg is cultivated whenever and wherever the rainfall has made it possible. A long line of rocky and precipitous hills, known as Jebel el-Grieg, form the northern boundary; the Jebel Makkoborat that to the east. The Wady el-Grieg, once it leaves the plain, takes its course through a valley on each side of which rise high rocky hills. On either side of the valley, in places, are the ruins of old buildings. Along this valley the wādy winds in many curves, its bed well wooded with the usual bushes and small trees, until it passes Kulat

Um Kuseir some four miles to the north. From here the Jebel Yittem can be seen.

This whole track of country, north of the Jerāfy, after it has taken an easterly direction, belongs to the Azazma, a tribe feared by the people of the Peninsula as well-known thieves, though they may rather be called pilferers than robbers as they seldom organise raids. They carry on a small trade in gum which they gather from the *Sama* tree.

The country seemed to me especially good as a grazing ground, but as it was advisable, while crossing it, to keep out of the way of the inhabitants, I had no good opportunity of judging how far it could be turned to account, but I saw in places some really fine herds of sheep and goats. All this country drains into the Arabah.

Between the hills of the Jebel Risha and the Jebel el-Geld in the south and the Jebel Deid Semawi in the north, is a large open plain which gradually slopes towards the Jerāfy to the east across which run the Wādies Hadaha, Abu Tamir and Alraby, and a multitude of small ones. Its north-east boundary is formed by the precipitous fall of the range Risan Negibat, south of this the Jebel Beida becomes the boundary west of Jebel Beida; the water flows towards the Wādy Arīsh. In the south the direction of water-flow may be said to be pretty well divided between west and east, west into the Wādy Gores, and in the east into the Jerāfy; but there are no wādies of any size. The whole plain is covered with rattan, and some of the wādies are well grown over with all kinds of bushes. To the north the Bir Jerāfy and the Bir ej-Jerud (or Geraia) are used for watering the herds of camel. In the south there is the Bir et-Themed to water at.

The water-flow to the west of the plain runs into the Arīsh, and in this direction the country is open, none of the hills being of any height. The wadies are large and all are well wooded, some having patches of cultivation, especially the Wādy Geraia where the land about the wells is cultivated every year. As far up as the Wādy Abiad, the most northern wādy I reached, the whole flow is into the Arīsh.

Many of the hills round the north-west boundary of the plain have flints in them, which are used by the Arabs for making fire.

(To be continued.)

THE NEW THEORY OF CALVARY.

By A. W. CRAWLEY-BOEVEY, M.A., Bombay Civil Service (Retired),
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THERE are four principal theories commonly held regarding the real site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre.

I. The common popular theory is that the traditional site now covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the true and authentic site of the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ. This site has been accepted since the time of Constantine by all branches of the Christian Church. Though long disputed, and even repudiated by many, this site has never been subjected by experts to any detailed public criticism until within the past sixty or seventy years. The publication in 1841 of Dr. Edward Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, of Rev. George Williams' *Holy City* in 1845, and the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865, have much contributed to attract public attention, and stimulate public enquiry on this subject. The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, conducted by the officers employed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, marks the first serious attempt to ascertain the main facts of Jerusalem topography.

II. Those who either reject or doubt the general truth of the traditional site may be divided broadly into the following classes :

(1) Those who believe that the real sites of Calvary and the Tomb have been utterly lost, and are beyond the reach of recovery by modern research. This is the popular view of that school of higher critics who are best represented by the late Sir Charles Wilson and his numerous followers. Sir Charles Wilson, R.E., conducted the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem in 1864-5, and is regarded as a recognised authority on all Jerusalem antiquities.

(2) Those who believe—without any reference to exploration and modern research—that the real sites have been intentionally concealed by Providence, and that the Tomb of Christ, like that of Moses, will for ever remain unknown. This view is commonly entertained by many thoughtful persons who have no belief in the traditional sites, and are naturally very sceptical about all new theories on the subject.

(3) Those who believe that scientific research and exploration has not yet said its last word on this subject. This group of critics believes that modern research has thrown important new light on the real site of Calvary, and that the approximate position of the tomb can be inferred with great probability from the knowledge thus acquired. This class is best represented by the late Col. G. R. Conder, R.E., who succeeded Sir Charles Wilson in Palestine, and is widely known as an author and Biblical scholar. To many persons unacquainted with modern Jerusalem and the literature of Palestine exploration, it may come as a kind of shock to be told that the traditional site is no longer regarded with the unquestioning faith to which the support of the Greek and the Latin Churches, and the prayers and offerings of countless pilgrims since the fourth century would seem to entitle it. Persons will naturally enquire what has happened during the past sixty or seventy years to account for the remarkable change of view which has unquestionably taken place. The answer, of course, is, that modern research has, in the opinion of many, completely undermined the old foundations of belief in these "holy places," and has demonstrated to all persons who are uncommitted to any particular view the essential weakness of the popular tradition that the Saviour suffered or was buried at the spot now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There is, of course, a bitter conflict of opinion on this point between those who may be called the professional defenders of the "holy places," and those who approach the subject without any prepossession; but it is sufficient to say that the adverse evidence is to many minds practically overwhelming, and that few who have visited Jerusalem and studied carefully the evidence on both sides are able to believe that Calvary—the common place of Jewish execution—ever occupied the impossible traditional site now shown, or that Christ was buried in the artificial marble-covered sepulchre which is supposed to mark the spot where His sacred body was laid. All traces of the alleged "sacred cave" described by Eusebius three hundred years after His death have long since perished in the course of numerous transformations, and only those who are possessed of a most robust faith and an ardent "wish to believe" can ignore both the doubtful nature of the literary evidence, scanty and unsupported as it is, and the many surrounding circumstances which show that evidence to be no proof at all of either Calvary or the Tomb. If this Tomb be regarded, not as a place of burial, but

simply as the *historical memorial* of Christ's sufferings and death, all Christians might unite in paying to this Monument the utmost reverence and respect. Such memorials are by no means uncommon in all parts of Syria and the East, the burial occurring in one place, and the memorial, in the shape of tomb or monument, erected in another, for ordinary reasons of convenience. Apart from all the legends and ecclesiastical tales which have diverted public attention from these points, may not the opposing views be partially reconciled by regarding the traditional Holy Sepulchre as an historical memorial only? Although the tomb is not what it is said to be, its remarkable history and associations will always entitle it to the deepest respect. Those who pin their faith (i) to the miraculous discovery of the "sacred cave" described by Eusebius, and (ii) to the miraculous *Invention of the Cross*, about which Eusebius is silent, will, of course, regard this suggestion as unworthy of any consideration; but others may consider that the idea of a memorial tomb wholly unconnected with the place of burial throws new light on many points that are now obscure, and ought not to be summarily dismissed merely because it is opposed to popular tradition. We have only to consider that, if the real place of burial at the Jewish *Place of Stoning* was considered, by reason of its sinister associations and unprotected position outside the walls, to be unsuitable for the erection of memorial churches, those responsible for fixing the site may have felt the strongest inducement to select a more suitable spot *within the walls* where the Churches could be efficiently protected, and a memorial tomb be constructed. Such a tomb, officially declared to be the real Holy Sepulchre, and surrounded by the memorial buildings of Constantine, was little likely to be disputed by anyone; but to silence all possible doubts, the priesthood always held in reserve the potent argument of supernatural guidance. The site was accordingly fixed, the Churches were built, and on the very day of dedication (Sept. 14th, A.D. 336), the astounding miracle of the *Invention of the Cross* attested at once the reality of the miracle, and the truth of the site miraculously revealed. The motives which may have impelled the chief actors in these transactions are perfectly intelligible in the circumstances of the time, but there is no reason why a miraculous revelation, or, as some would call it, a pious deception of this kind should permanently mislead all minds, or should for ever exclude from enquiry the real scenes of Christ's sufferings and death. Both friends and opponents of the traditional

Holy Sepulchre agree that, if this monument was constructed *inside* the walls of Jerusalem as they existed in the time of Christ, there is no longer any room for rational belief. The professional defenders of these sites regard the position of the famous Second Wall as the crucial point of the whole argument, but many writers have pointed out that the position of this Second Wall, even if it could be established by means of extensive and practically impossible explorations, would by no means resolve all doubts on the subject of the tomb, or render credible the view that Calvary—the public execution ground of Jewish criminals—ever occupied the impossible place now shown. If the tomb could be shown to have lain *inside* this much debated Second Wall, the site might indeed be regarded, on mere topical grounds, as possible, but its probability, on other and more important grounds, would still remain as disputable as before. Sir Charles Wilson admits “that there is no decisive reason for placing Golgotha and the Tomb at the places which were accepted as genuine in the fourth century,” but he adds “there is no distinct proof that they were not so situated.” Readers can judge for themselves how far an opinion expressed in cautious terms like these justifies any reasonable belief in the traditional sites. Belief that depends, not on the merits of a disputed site, but solely on the difficulty of proving its falsity, seems to be already tottering. Those who reject the popular Roman Catholic view of the “holy places” will readily understand the extraordinary public interest which has been aroused during the past sixty years by the discovery of these facts, and by the consequent desire to find alternative sites more probable on their own merits, and less exposed to hostile criticism. There is much to be said both for and against all the competing views already noticed. It is easy to accept the view of many of the higher critics that the real sites have been utterly lost, and are beyond the reach of discovery by any modern research. Those who share this opinion will naturally remain profoundly sceptical about all new discoveries. Many persons, again, will undoubtedly sympathise with the view that the real places may have been intentionally concealed by Providence for reasons which will readily occur to all. The official recognition of the traditional site would effectually divert attention from any other, and would, in this way, prevent the growth of any rival tradition. Assuming this site to be as unproved and improbable as its opponents believe it to be, it is easy to understand how effectually the real place of Christ’s

burial has been hitherto concealed by the existence of a tradition which no one dared to dispute. Those who accept these views may consider that new light on this subject is now only for the first time obtainable. Scientific exploration in Egypt, Palestine, Armenia, Crete, and elsewhere, during the past sixty years, has thrown a flood of new light on many of the most famous sites of antiquity. Why should it be supposed that the most famous sites in Jerusalem will for ever remain concealed from the legitimate anxiety of all the Christian nations of the world to ascertain the truth about the real scenes of the death and passion of Christ?

The first thought of many persons will probably be that any new attempt to locate the approximate site of the place of Christ's burial in the vast necropolis of modern Jerusalem is, on the face of it, a most undesirable and more or less futile work, which can only be attributed to the same natural but questionable motives which impelled the early Christians in the fourth century to attempt a task which was even then supposed to be impossible. Such persons will be likely to regard all the new theories on the subject as a mere sentimental craze, exhibiting only a modern illustration of the popular taste for creating new "holy places" for the attraction of ignorant pilgrims. Motives of this sort will rightly be regarded with reprobation by all persons who are aware of the number of mythical sites which have made modern Jerusalem already a by-word for fraudulent misrepresentation. The serious character of any modern quest for the real place of Calvary and the Tomb will be admitted by all. It is no light matter for modern explorers, however eminent, to upset the current traditions on the subject of Calvary and the Tomb, and to suggest alternative theories which many persons will believe to be equally false or equally devoid of any kind of real proof. But the plain fact is that modern research and modern knowledge has profoundly altered the whole point of view with which these questions are now regarded. There is no longer any question of establishing in Jerusalem a new shrine or "holy place" for Christian devotion. Nor is there any wish on the part of judicious supporters of the new Calvary to disturb the faith of those who still believe in the traditional site, but there is a strong desire to make known the fact (1) that the real site of Calvary has been proved to the satisfaction of many of the foremost thinkers of our day, and (2) that this discovery carries with it sufficient information to enable any intelligent person to speculate for himself

where the real tomb of Joseph must necessarily have been. The Garden Tomb accidentally discovered in 1867, and the Tomb discovered by Major Conder in 1881 both depend on the same theory of Calvary. Both tombs have their own respective supporters, and both are equally devoid of any kind of proof which is likely to obtain general acceptance. If the Skull Hill theory of Calvary be true, both tombs may be considered on mere topical grounds as possible, and more or less probable sites for the real Holy Sepulchre; and although the whole locality has been closely searched during the past fifty years by explorers of all nations, no other tomb has yet been discovered which meets the conditions of the Gospel narrative.

It is plain from these considerations that everything really turns on the proof of Calvary, and if the famous Skull Hill be accepted as the real scene of the Crucifixion, it will be time enough to consider separately the question of the Tomb, and all the consequences that follow from this discovery of Calvary. The usual method of approaching this difficult and disputed subject is to ignore, as far as possible, the arguments for the new site of Calvary, and to treat the Garden Tomb with contempt as an "imposture" invented by Protestants to discredit the Roman Catholic shrine. This mode of treating the question is, of course, utterly unworthy of so sacred and serious a subject, and betrays either a deliberate wish to misrepresent the facts, or a resolute desire to ignore the modern theory of Calvary and the arguments by which it is supported. The Tomb is one question. The site of Calvary is another. And though these two questions are very closely connected, it is very important that they should be separately considered, each on its own merits, and each in its proper order. The question of the Tomb excites, for obvious reasons, the bitterest prejudice. The question of the site of Calvary has never aroused such intense opposition as the Tomb, and has been held by all modern explorers to be a natural and legitimate subject of enquiry, apart altogether from any consequences which the enquiry might entail. Many learned divines and Palestine scholars of great distinction are unanimous in thinking that the real site of Calvary has been proved. They may be right or wrong in this opinion, but it is impossible to ignore the remarkable consensus of learned testimony on this subject, or to doubt that a strong *prima facie* case has been established in favour of what is known as the Skull Hill

theory of Calvary. Readers of the *Jerusalem Garden Tomb Review*, pp. 27-35 (Marshall Bros., 1911), will find a list of the various writers and their works dealing with this subject. This theory of Calvary is based on the following grounds:—

(1) The rocky knoll above the Grotto of Jeremiah is believed by modern Sephardim Jews to be the ancient *Place of Stoning*—the Beth-ha-Sekelah of the Mishna. The Jewish tradition on the subject, handed down by the Jews of Spain and Southern Europe, dates from the fifth century, and is, to say the least of it, quite as credible on its own merits as the contemporary Christian tradition relating to the alleged discovery of the traditional Holy Sepulchre, and the *Invention of the Cross*. The Jews had no interest in inventing a false tradition regarding a place so ill-omened and so notorious as the *Place of Stoning*. The same cannot be said regarding the Christian tradition of Calvary.

(2) The place is associated by ancient Rabbinical and early Christian tradition both with the prophet Jeremiah, and with the martyrdom of St. Stephen. It has been thought by some that the so called *Grotto of Jeremiah*, which is very near the famous *Quarries of Solomon* outside the Damascus Gate, may perhaps be the place referred to in Jer. xxxvi, 19, where the prophet was hidden by Baruch in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, 606 B.C.

“Then said the princes unto Baruch, Go hide thee, thou and Jeremiah, and let no man know where ye be.”

Some important event in the life of the prophet Jeremiah seems necessary to account for the association of his name with the so-called Grotto referred to. Some have thought that the Lamentations of Jeremiah may have been written in this place.

The Martyrdom of St. Stephen at the Jewish *Place of Stoning* has been commemorated in this locality from the fifth century A.D. A memorial Church of St. Stephen was here erected by the Empress Eudocia, *cir.* A.D. 455, and the whole history of the locality, which is deeply interesting on both religious and historical grounds, has been carefully investigated in connection with St. Stephen by the French Dominicans, who are the present owners of the site.

(3) The position and physical features of the hill are very remarkable. The hill itself is a natural landmark, surrounded by roads on three sides, and exhibiting in more than one aspect a remarkable resemblance to a skull. If Christ was crucified, as supposed, at the Jewish *Place of Stoning*—“without the Gate”—the

Skull Hill satisfies, in a remarkable way, all the main conditions of the Gospel narrative.

(4) The hill adjoins the great northern cemetery of Jerusalem, which contains many rock hewn tombs, two of which have been advocated by experts as the cave of Joseph.

(5) The hill was described by the Russian Abbot! Daniel (A.D. 1106-7) as "a flat rocky mountain which split up at the time of Christ's crucifixion, the place is called Gehenna." The valley to the east—that is, the head of St. Anne's ravine—is connected by Moslems with death and the last judgment. There are, to this day, traces of rent rocks on the hill, generally believed to have been caused by earthquake. This testimony is all the more remarkable as coming from a believer in the traditional Holy Sepulchre.

(6) The remarkable verses in Jeremiah xxxi, 38-40, are, by some persons, associated with this locality. Tremelius is quoted by the historian, Thomas Fuller, as identifying the "hill Gareb" with Golgotha near the valley of the dead bodies. It was foretold by the prophet, in verse 40, that the whole of this locality was to be regarded for ever as "holy unto the Lord." The exact significance of these words may be open to more than one interpretation, but no one will doubt that they are very remarkable, especially in view of modern discoveries in connection with the Skull Hill.

(7) The hill is now, and has from ancient times been, a Moslem place of burial, surrounded on one side by very ancient Jewish and early Christian tombs. It has, for Jews, Christians, and Moslems, remarkable associations, which have doubtless contributed to its preservation through all the vicissitudes of history.

(8) There is no spot in or near Jerusalem, with the exception of the Temple site and the traditional Holy Sepulchre, which presents such a combination of traditional and historical associations.

Can anyone reasonably doubt that a site presenting such a variety of remarkable features is, to say the least of it, a highly probable site for the real Calvary of the Gospels. This evidence has satisfied many of the most learned divines and Palestine scholars, as already stated, and unless this evidence can be weakened or discredited, the Skull Hill theory of Calvary is likely to command the increasing assent of learned travellers and visitors to Jerusalem.

The question of the Tomb is an entirely separate question, which must be considered strictly on its own merits, apart from all the natural prejudice which so serious a subject can hardly fail to

arouse. Calvary has been identified without any reference to the Tomb, and those experts who have done most to establish the claims of the new site of Calvary have, in fact, no belief in the tomb. But if the Skull Hill theory of Calvary be true, explorers know, at any rate, where to look for the approximate position of the tomb, and have a definite theory to work upon. The position of Calvary is, in fact, the key of the whole problem, and when once we know, with reasonable certainty, where Calvary was, the field for enquiry become closely limited, and the question of the Tomb becomes a reasonable subject for speculation. Those who accept the Skull Hill theory of Calvary are little likely to deny that any Jewish rock-hewn tomb situated hereabouts is, at least, a possible, if not a probable, spot for the rock-hewn cave of Joseph. Opponents of the Garden Tomb base their objections entirely on the general character and the supposed Christian origin of this tomb. But these objections, in so far as they have any weight, apply quite as strongly to the traditional Holy Sepulchre as they do to the Garden Tomb. The first has no sort of resemblance to any kind of Jewish rock hewn tomb, and is in its present shape a manifestly Christian construction which has undergone repeated transformations. The Garden Tomb bears the closest resemblance to many of the rock hewn tombs constructed by Jews in the Herodian period, and is believed by many of the most competent critics, such as Schick, Edersheim, Tristram, and others, to be of Jewish origin. When one learned writer (Conder) considers the Garden Tomb to be a Christian construction of the twelfth century, and another (Sir Charles Wilson) that it was constructed by early Christians in the fifth century, and others (Schick, Tristram, Edersheim, etc.) that it was constructed by Jews in Herodian times, and was afterwards converted to Christian uses, every one can see at once that there is no sort of agreement amongst those whose opinions are supposed to carry the greatest weight.

Supporters of the Garden Tomb base their opinion upon the following broad grounds :—

(1) That the tomb is of Jewish origin constructed about the time of Christ, and afterwards converted and used for Christian purposes.

(2) That its unique position in the very place of Crucifixion (according to the new theory of Calvary) exactly meets the conditions of the Gospel narrative, and that this is the only tomb yet

discovered which does so, the tomb known as "Conder's Tomb" being manifestly too far off.

(3) That the tomb, whether provable or not, is an invaluable object lesson, showing exactly the kind of rock-hewn tomb in which our Saviour is supposed to have lain. This view has been expressed even by learned *opponents*, such as Prof. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., author of *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, Oxford, 1903. These grounds have been sufficient to satisfy many eminent persons that the Garden Tomb ought to be purchased and permanently preserved from desecration and neglect. The purchase was effected in 1894, and the tomb and surrounding premises have passed into private hands for the legitimate use and satisfaction of all Christian visitors.

The Garden Tomb Review, published by Marshall Bros., Paternoster Row, E.C., will be found a complete literary handbook on the subject, and all readers will be able to judge for themselves between the rival views.

THE ASSUAN PAPYRI AND THE GRAVE-GOODS OF GEZER.

By E. J. PILCHER.

MR. MACALISTER'S new book, *The Excavation of Gezer*, is a welcome summary of the six years' work that has been expended upon this important site; and the far-reaching nature of his discoveries is still more evident, now that we have them assembled together and classified, instead of being scattered miscellaneously through the quarterly reports. The exploration of Gezer has already thrown a flood of light upon many points of Semitic culture, and the comparison of the discoveries made there, with relics of antiquity from other sources, is likely to prove a fruitful field for many years to come.

It is somewhat remarkable that no one has called attention to the curious parallelism between the lists of goods in the Assuan Papyri, and the contents of the group of graves described by Mr. Macalister on p. 289 of *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. I, and

Q.S., 1905, p. 318, and 1907, p. 197. It will be remembered that these Assuan Papyri relate to the affairs of a Jewish lady named Mibtāḥ-Yah, who resided at Elephantine in the fifth century B.C., and possessed some house property there. Among other things we have her marriage-contract, and it is to this document that we should devote our attention. It is dated in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *i.e.*, 440 B.C., and is an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of ancient law and custom. For the translation and elucidation we are indebted to Dr. Cowley, and the following is a slightly condensed rendering¹:—

“On the 26th day of Tishri, in the 25th year of Artaxerxes the king, spake As-Hor unto Mahseiah, saying: ‘I have come to thy house for thee to give me thy daughter, Mibtāḥ-Yah, to wife. She is my wife, and I am her husband, from this day and for ever.’

“I have given thee as the bride-price of thy daughter Mibtāḥ-Yah, 5 shekels of silver of the king’s weight. It is accepted by thee, and thy heart is content therewith.

“I have delivered into the hand of thy daughter Mibtāḥ-Yah, as money for an outfit, 12 shekels of the king’s weight.

“I have delivered into her hand:—

“1 garment of new wool, embroidered and dyed, 8 cubits long by 5, of the value of 28 shekels of silver.

“1 new piece of fine weaving, 7 cubits by 5, value 8 shekels.

“Another garment of fine spun wool, 6 cubits by 4, value 7 shekels.

“1 bronze mirror, value $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekels.

“1 bronze dish, value $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekels.

“2 bronze cups, value 2 shekels.

“1 bronze bowl, value $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel.

“I have accepted, and my heart is content with it, 1 reed case, containing:—

“4 vessels of stone.

“1 jar with two handles.

“1 *shenan mishan*.

“1 cosmetic box of new ivory.

¹ *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*. Edited by A. H. Sayce, with the assistance of A. E. Cowley (London, 1906), *Papyrus G.*, p. 43.

“If As-Hor should die to-morrow, or any future day, leaving no issue, either male or female, by Mibtah-Yah; then his wife, Mibtah-Yah, shall have full rights over the house of As-Hor, and his goods and chattels, and all that he has on the face of the earth.

“If Mibtah-Yah should die to-morrow, or any future day, leaving no issue, either male or female, by As-Hor, her husband; then As-Hor shall be heir to her goods and chattels.

“If to-morrow, or any future day, Mibtah-Yah shall stand up in the Assembly, saying: ‘I divorce As-Hor, my husband,’ then the price of divorce shall be on her head. She shall weigh to As-Hor $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver, and all that I have delivered into her hand she shall give back again, both metal and stuff; and she shall go whither she will.

“If to-morrow, or any future day, As-Hor shall stand up in the Assembly, saying: ‘I divorce my wife, Mibtah-Yah,’ her bride-price shall be forfeit, and all that I have delivered into her hand she shall give back again, both metal and stuff, and she shall go whither she will. He shall rise up against Mibtah-Yah to drive her away from the house of As-Hor and his goods and chattels. He shall pay her 200 shekels of silver.

“If I shall say: ‘I have children and wife other than Mibtah-Yah and her children,’ I will pay Mibtah-Yah 200 shekels of silver of the king’s weight, and I shall not have power to take away my goods and chattels from Mibtah-Yah; and if I have removed them from her, I shall pay Mibtah-Yah 200 shekels of silver of the king’s weight.

“Nathan, the son of Ananiah, has written this Deed at the dictation of As-Hor, and the witnesses are:—

“Penuliah, son of Jezaniah,

“Jezaniah, son of Uriah,

“Menahem, son of Zaccur.”

It will be seen that this contract is drawn up from the point of view of the “marriage by purchase,” an institution that can be traced through Semitic society from the time of Hammurabi down to the present day.¹ According to this theory, the husband buys the wife from her father, like any other chattel, and he therefore pays down an agreed sum as the “bride price,” though it is always

¹ *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, by Stanley A. Cook, M.A. (London, 1903), pp. 73-95.

expected that the parent will endow his daughter with a dowry of equal, or greater value, than the bride-price. It is also customary for the husband to make the bride a number of presents of as great value as he can afford, and these "bridal gifts" are displayed in the wedding procession for the admiration and envy of the neighbours.

Thus, in the present instance, As-Hor pays five shekels as the bride-price, and receives a number of articles as his wife's dowry, with which he professes himself content. It is somewhat unfortunate, however, that we cannot understand what these articles were, for the Aramaic words are very obscure. There are four things made of stone, and something that has two handles to it, and another article that is utterly unintelligible. The only utensil which is at all clear is the last one, a "make-up case" of ivory. For, although the idea of painting and powdering the face is repugnant to us, we must not forget that they had other views in antiquity; and the making up of the face was an ordinary daily occupation of the female toilet.

In addition to all these things, As-Hor details his own bridal gifts, and is careful to state the value of each in "silver of the king's weight," for coined money was unknown in Egypt at that period. These bridal gifts comprise elaborate woollen garments, a bronze mirror, and bronze bowl and cups.

If, now, we turn to the graves described by Mr. Macalister in *Excavation*, Vol. I, p. 292, we will see that he found deposited with a female skeleton, a bronze mirror, a bronze bowl, a silver vase, a silver bowl, a silver drinking cup, and a bronze ladle. The list is not identical with the bridal gifts of Mibtah-Yah—that could hardly be expected—but the articles are of the same character; that is to say, they include a metal mirror, and metal cups and bowls. It is true that in the Gezer tomb several of the articles are of silver, but that need only imply greater wealth, and not any essential difference in the utensils themselves. There are, of course, no woollen garments at Gezer; the woven stuffs disappeared long ago, and have only left minute traces; but in this particular grave to which we are referring there were three vessels of alabaster, recalling the "vessels of stone" which formed part of the dowry of Mibtah-Yah, and in an adjacent grave was a "pilgrim bottle" with two handles, which may, or may not, represent the "two-handled jar" of the Assuan outfit. As to the "ivory cosmetic box," we

can hardly expect that to have survived in any recognizable form, although it is precisely the article that would be deposited in a lady's tomb.

The group of interments to which we desire to draw attention was quite unlike the other burials uncovered at Gezer, and that is one reason why it proved so puzzling to Mr. Macalister. The bodies had not been deposited in holes in the rock, like most of the other burials, but each skeleton was enclosed in a carefully built tomb of masonry, covered with flat slabs of stone. This would imply a somewhat advanced stage of civilisation, yet there is nothing inconsistent with Semitic life; for, when we compare the contents of these graves with the Assuan Papyri, we shall be convinced that we have to do with a very similar state of culture.

There were five graves in the group in question. Two contained the skeletons of men, but these were not accompanied with anything of a special character, and one of the male skeletons had not been built in. The other three were all female interments. Grave No. 1 contained "the skeleton of a young girl, apparently about eighteen years of age." No metal utensils had been buried with her, and as she was so young it may have been that she died unmarried, and so had no bridal gifts to take with her to *Sheol*. Grave No. 4 contained the skeleton of a woman, together with the objects we have already enumerated above; and Grave No. 5 enclosed another female skeleton, with a bronze mirror and a silver drinking cup. There was a ladle also, but instead of being in bronze, like that with No. 4, this specimen was of silver, showing that the metal utensils in the tombs were indifferently of silver or bronze, according to wealth or other circumstances.

So far we have refrained from expressing any opinion as to the date of these interments at Gezer. Mr. Macalister recognized them as belonging to the Iron Age, and therefore they must be later than 1000 B.C.; but the question remains: How much later? Prof. J. L. Myres, of Liverpool, gave them some study in *Q.S.*, 1907, p. 240; and, with considerable hesitation, compared the relics with Mycenaean and Cypriote examples, though he remarked "the contents would favour a rather late date, or, at least, a lower *limit* of date"; and he suggested that it might not be presumptuous to label the finds provisionally as "Philistine." This, however, is a somewhat non-committal title, for, as the graves were found in Philistia, few people would object to calling them Philistine. But,

curiously enough, Prof. Myres' knowledge of this remarkable group of tombs seems to have been limited entirely to Mr. Macalister's Nos. 1 and 5, as described in *Q.S.*, 1907, pp. 197-203. If Prof. Myres had turned to *Q.S.*, 1905, pp. 318-322, he would have found still stronger grounds for hesitation, for in Grave No. 2 was discovered an agate scaraboid of Persian design; and in Grave No. 4 a cornelian seal of similiar character. The former object is illustrated in *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. I, p. 292 (*Q.S.*, 1905, p. 319), and represents an individual in a Median robe, and wearing a Persian tiara, struggling with two nondescript creatures, and standing upon a winged sphinx. Above him is a winged disk of the class that frequently occurs upon comparatively late gems. The cornelian seal (*Excavation*, Vol. I, p. 293; *Q.S.*, 1905, p. 320) is what is often styled a truncated cone, pierced for suspension. It bears a robed figure standing before a winged sphinx, above which is a crescent, while above both is a winged object that can hardly be compared with the Assyrian Aššur, but is extremely like the "disk of Ormuzd" figured on the silver stater of Datames illustrated in *Q.S.*, 1910, p. 79.

These two gems, therefore, would seem to point to a period that is not very far removed from the date of the Assuan Papyri. In fact, if Mibtah-Yah had been buried with her bridal gifts and dowry, her tomb would have yielded to the modern explorer a series of objects almost identical with those found in the "Philistine" graves of Gezer.

THE SEARCH FOR THE TEMPLE TREASURE AT JERUSALEM.¹

By PROF. GUSTAF DALMAN.

THERE have been so many erroneous statements in the European newspapers with reference to the operations of Captain Parker and his associates, while searching for the Temple treasure at Jerusalem, that it may not be out of place to relate the actual facts, so far as these can be ascertained.

Three years ago a Swede, who lived in Belgium, came to Jerusalem, entrusted with a secret mission, to make preparations

¹ From Prof. Dalman's article in the *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1911, No. 4, pp. 56-61. By kind permission.

for the conduct of explorations on the ground which lies to the south of the Haram enclosure. Some apparently very rich Englishmen, one of whom owned a yacht, soon followed, accompanied by a Finn, to start the works and carry them out. The members of the expedition appeared to have had no experience or knowledge of archaeology, and forbade the visit of an English savant, but afterwards put no obstacles in the way of the learned Dominican Fathers. It was said that they were trying to find the Ark of the Covenant, or the Sepulchre of King David, but no information was given to anybody. The Turkish authorities also kept the matter secret, and the explorations were surrounded with a police guard, in such a way as to make it impossible for anyone, even with the most innocent intentions, to approach within a kilometre of the entrance shaft. Two commissioners, who received two hundred Turkish pounds monthly, were appointed as official guardians.

The work was commenced by opening the natural shaft in the rock, originally discovered by Capt. Warren, near the Virgin's Fountain, at the foot of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem, and they explored it thoroughly without finding anything remarkable. It was supposed that an approach to the hidden treasure would be found near the Fountain. The Fountain was carefully examined, and the well-known rock tunnel, made by King Hezekiah, was cleared out, when it was found that this tunnel was considerably higher than was supposed. A parallel tunnel was found which led back, on the east side, to the Fountain. The exit of the tunnel into the Pool of Siloam was built round, so as considerably to alter its original appearance. The inhabitants of the village of Siloam were well disposed, as they received very high wages, and the temporary stoppage of the spring was thus well paid for, while, it is said, the water runs better now that the spring has been cleared out. Finally, a tunnel was opened in the direction of the Haram enclosure. The foundations of an old city wall was met with on the hill, in which there was a gate with a paved street. Of these works there was nothing to be seen above ground except the entrance shaft.

The explorations had proceeded thus far, when, in the first week of last April, the work south of the Haram enclosure was stopped, and recommenced within the enclosure, when it was carried on, during the night, for nine days, with the attendance of the police. The English explorers, who had a fine establishment in the Hospice of the Empress Augusta Victoria on the Mount of Olives, proceeded

every night to the Haram for the work, but appear to have denied this fact to the Lady Superintendent of the Hospice. It is said that a guardian at the Gate of the Moors of the Haram enclosure, who had been insufficiently bribed, betrayed the secret, and the work had to be stopped on April 12th. The Englishmen went off at once to Jaffa, where their yacht was waiting for them, but the English dragoman was put in prison, and also the Head Sheikh of the Haram, who had received the Prussian Order of the Crown and a ring from the German Emperor and his two sons. These persons were sent in chains to Beirut for trial. As there is no legal punishment for the violation of a mosque, if the action of the Englishmen was to be so regarded, the only course appeared to be to act on the law dealing with unauthorised explorations. The Governor of Jerusalem, who had been very friendly with the gentlemen, but whose responsibility for the unlawful exploration had not been proved, was first recalled, and then dismissed. The principal offenders had avoided punishment.

Inside the Haram enclosure the explorers had commenced work at the so-called Stables of Solomon, and had apparently hoped to be able to get underground from thence to the site of the Temple, but they were stopped by cisterns, and gave up the attempt as impossible. They therefore went to the other end and opened the rock tunnel, which leads from the north to the Sacred Rock under the Dome of the Rock, and which perhaps carried away the blood from the Altar of the Temple. This tunnel was followed for about seven metres in a northerly direction, but nothing particular was found except a slight enlargement of it. As the Englishman, Capt. Warren, and the Frenchman, Clermont-Ganneau, had already explored it, there was nothing new to be expected from it. The so-called Well of Souls, in the cave beneath the Sacred Rock, was not opened, as stated in the newspapers. I noticed, however, when I visited the Dome of the Rock soon after what had occurred, that the floor of the cave had been repaired. Father Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique* for 1911, p. 411, remarks that the unevenness of the rock upon which the slab over the so-called Well of the Souls rests, is somewhat enlarged, and that it was found that there was no Well of the Souls. But the workmen who were engaged on the repair of the floor told me that they had nowhere struck the rock. The proof, therefore, that the Well of the Souls does not exist, is incomplete, but, at the same time, I think its existence is doubtful.

It was generally supposed, and it is now confirmed by the statements of the Turkish Government, and by the contract with them which exists in Jerusalem, that the object of the Parker Company was to seek for treasure, and it was therefore natural that rumours were spread regarding the wonderful discoveries made during the nocturnal explorations. The Crown of David, the Sword of Solomon, the Tables of the Law, and gold beyond count, had been found and carried off by the Englishmen. It was unfortunate that, at this time, the Moslems from Central and Southern Palestine assembled at Jerusalem for the Feast of Moses, and heard of what had happened. A great excitement of feeling against the Christians was the consequence, and the clearing of the Haram enclosure by the military on account of some insignificant quarrel on the 22nd April, was supposed to be the beginning of a massacre of the Christians. We breathed more freely when the Moslem pilgrims had left Jerusalem. But the news of the robbery of the Temple treasure had spread through the country and has left lasting trouble for travellers.

It is acknowledged by Capt. Parker himself that the origin of his undertaking was a cypher which revealed the place where the vessels and treasures of the Temple were concealed. He said that a Swede had discovered it, but in reality it was probably a Finn. Since all the old records respecting the history of the vessels of the Temple are well known, there must either be a falsification made by the Finn, or—and this appears to be more likely—the Finn, by the help of a cypher, had got some new information out of the known records, just as a little time ago some one had read the name of the apocryphal editor of the Gospel of St. John, as well as the place and time of editing, out of the Gospel itself. It is indeed a sign of the times that it should have been possible, on such an insecure basis, unconfirmed by any scientific man, to raise a capital of £25,000, in order to unearth the treasure I need not say that Englishmen and Germans were at one from the beginning in their objection to this treasure hunt.

Capt. Parker owns that the object of the explorations has not been attained. It seemed indeed from the beginning extremely improbable that any treasure worth naming could lie concealed in a place that had been so often ransacked by Romans, Jews, Moslems and Christians. The treasure hunter, however, asserts that valuable scientific knowledge has been gained, and that it has been proved

that the City of David was not on the present Mount Sion, but on the hill south of the Temple. Capt. Parker does not appear to be aware that the fact, which he fancies he has discovered, has been well known to scientific students of Palestine for a long time. Whether his explorations add any new proofs to those already known, the report of his work will show. Capt. Parker seems to take it as sufficient proof, that a town which was on this site could not be captured, but the strength of the position was already well known, and could not decide the question.

Capt. Parker further speaks of unique finds which have excited great interest in Jerusalem. Up to the present, however, the collection has not been shown to the public, so that it is not possible to make any remarks with regard to it. There was talk of a forged copy of the Siloam Inscription, respecting the discovery of which the explorers were much pleased. All we can hope is that the excavations may yield some useful results, though we cannot expect much in consequence of the want of knowledge with which they were conducted.¹

The treasure hunt has failed, but the following unfortunate results remain :—

1. The people of Palestine have been confirmed in their belief that archaeological researches are really treasure hunts.

2. The Moslems have come to the conclusion, which it will be difficult to remove, that one of their holiest places has been pillaged by the Christians.

3. The confidence of the Turkish Government in Exploration Societies, that they will not secretly do that which is unlawful, has been shaken.

4. The Sacred Rock in the Haram enclosure has been made inaccessible to visitors, and every step of Europeans in the vicinity of it is carefully watched.

One may therefore say that the treasure hunt of Capt. Parker has checked scientific research in Palestine, and it is not probable that the results of his discoveries will compensate for this loss. We wish specially to emphasize the fact that we do not seek for treasure, and will always be anxious, as in the past, to work in loyal co-operation with the Turkish Government, and with careful consideration for the feelings of Moslems.

¹ [See, now, the book, *Underground Jerusalem*, by H(ughes) V(incet); p. 46 below.—*Ed.*]

DAMASCUS NOTES.

From THE REV. J. E. HANAUER, M.A.

IN the course of his communications to the Palestine Exploration Fund the Rev. J. E. Hanauer has recently sent accounts of some interesting discoveries, a statement of which may here be given in a summary form :—

1. When the mud and timber building just north of the East Triple Gate of the old Temple Enclosure was pulled down, a portion of the temenos wall was exposed. On one of the stones, apparently not *in situ*, was a Greek inscription, photographs of which have been forwarded to the Office.

ΕΠΙΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΜΗΝΟΔΩ
ΡΟΝ ΖΕΝΩΝΟΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ
ΙΕΡΟΤΑΜΙΩΝ ΩΚΟΔΟΜΗ
ΘΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΛΕΥΡΑ
ΤΑΥΤΗ ΔΟΜΕΤΕΚΤΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΘΜΤ

The letters are fairly clear. The inscription begins exactly like that published on p. 40 of the January *Q.S.*, 1910. It mentions the temple stewards Menodorus and Zenonos, and is dated 349. If this is calculated from B.C. 64 "the date of the granting of independence to the Greek cities in Syria" (*Q.S.*, 1911, p. 57), this would be the time of Diocletian whose name perhaps stood at the close of line 6. "It seems to have been purposely effaced."

2. Later, Mr. Hanauer received from Dr. Papolani a copy of another Greek inscription found in the Sûk el-'Asrûniyeh, west of the Great Mosque, and nearly half-way between the Medresseh of Bibars and the Ottoman Bank. He writes (May 9): "At this spot an old warehouse or merchant's khan is now being pulled down.



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From THE REV. J. E. HANAUER, M.A.

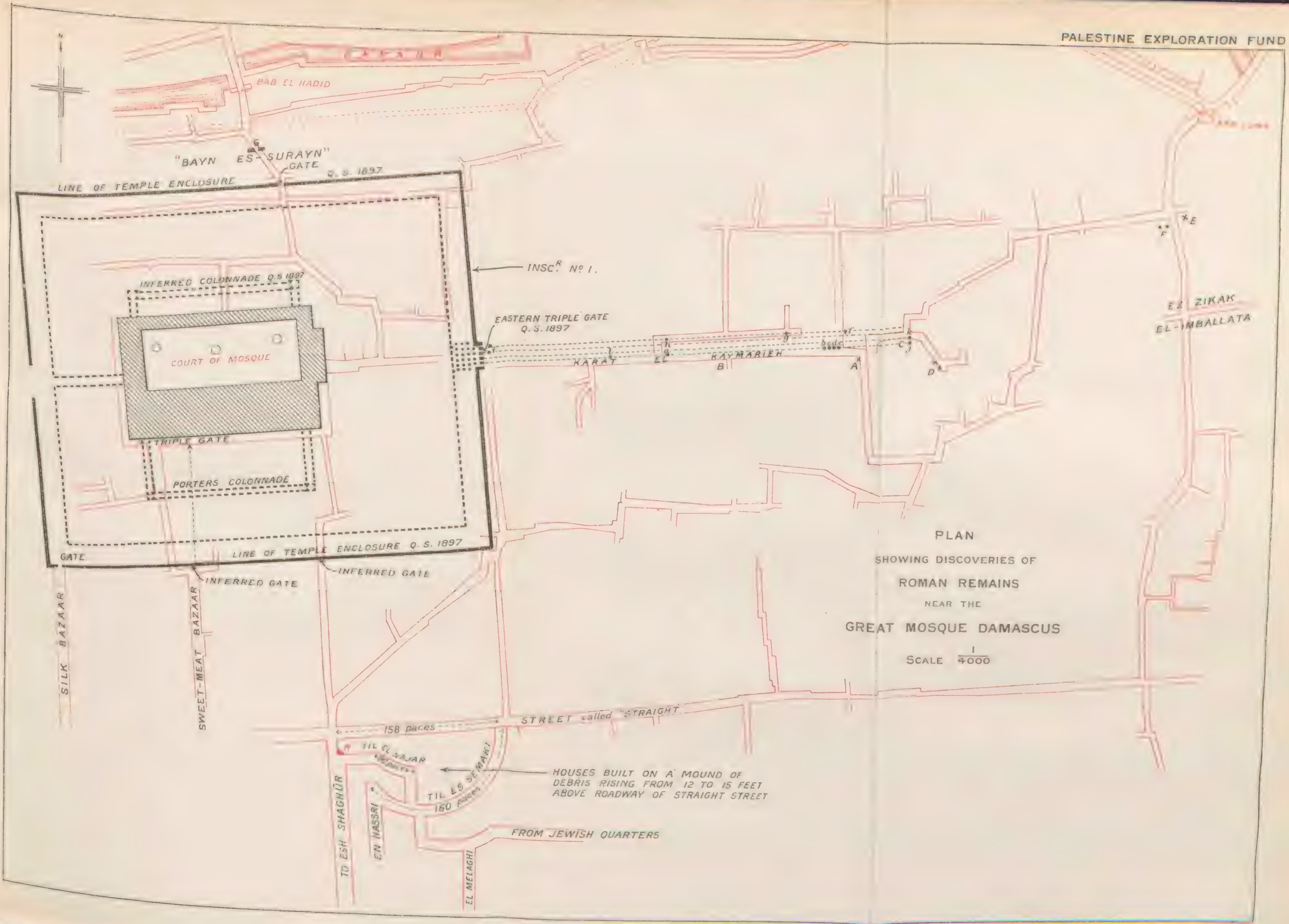
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ΘΗΣΑΝΚΑΙΕΝΤΗΠΛΕΥΡΑ
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PLAN
SHOWING DISCOVERIES OF
ROMAN REMAINS
NEAR THE
GREAT MOSQUE DAMASCUS
SCALE $\frac{1}{4000}$

The lower rooms of this structure were of vaulted Arab masonry and built against a well-preserved and complete piece of the outer wall of the ancient Temple. This fragment, a little over two-thirds of which is shown in the photograph, is about 50 feet long, and from 27 to 30 feet high. The courses are, on an average, 2 feet 6 inches high, the average length of the stones being 3 feet. Eleven courses, including the topmost, in which are also the pilaster-caps, are, as can be seen from the photograph, now visible, but others will be exposed in a few days when the masonry and *débris* heaped at the foot of the



FIG. 1.—Outer Wall of the Old Temple at Damascus.

great wall are removed. Just at the corner, to the left of the picture and near the ladder, are three stones built one upon another, at the foot of a pilaster. These three stones seem to be *in situ*, and on the topmost is Dr. Papolani's inscription. I am now sending, besides a squeeze taken by the doctor whilst I was measuring and photographing, a lead-pencil copy taken on the spot, and also a photograph.¹ The stone is 3 feet 7 inches long, and 2 feet 6 inches high. The letters are two inches high, but badly mutilated,

¹ [Unfortunately it has not been possible to recover anything from the copy and photographs.—ED.]

so that it is, in many cases, very difficult to decide what Greek characters they represent, or whether they are only weather-marks on the face of the stone. The only entire word that I can recognise, is, as I remarked when I sent the tracing of Dr. Papolani's copy, **ΙΕΡΟΤΑΜΙΩΝ**, a word which occurs also in two other Temple-wall inscriptions that I reported as having been found on the eastern side of the 'Peribolus' first noted and described by Mr. Dickie in the *Q.S.* for October, 1897."

It would appear, therefore, that a whole series of the "temple-stewardship" inscriptions was originally fixed at different points along the line of the great wall, and perhaps also in other parts of the buildings. Of these there are three in Boeckh's *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions* (*CIG.*, 4512, 4513, and 4516; see *Q.S.*, 1910, p. 42), that on p. 40 of *Q.S.*, 1910, and the two new ones. Finally, there is the Greek inscription to which Mr. Dickie refers (*Q.S.*, 1897, p. 277), published by J. L. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, Vol. I, p. 60. This inscription is not cited in Boeckh's *Corpus* (the three already mentioned are taken from Berggren, *Illn. Europ. et Orient.*, II, pp. 81, 86). It begins "during the temple-stewardship," and ends "of the lord Dio . . .," the rest of the name being apparently effaced.¹

Mr. Hanauer, in associating this inscription and No. 1 (above) with Diocletian, suggests that the Roman gateways discovered by Mr. Dickie in the north and south enclosure walls, and which are *inserted* in the older work (*Q.S.*, 1897, p. 276, last paragraph) belong to the reign of this Emperor; and he suggests further that since Diocletian was notorious for his persecution of the Christians, his name was purposely effaced about ninety years later, when Theodosius swept away the vestiges of paganism. He adds: "The arrangement of the date in No. 1, viz., 9 + 40 + 300, seems at first very strange, but it is quite Arabic in character. I was informed by an effendi whom I casually met in the Great Mosque that some years ago, when the Kubbet el Kutb, or 'dome of books,' was opened by order of Abd al-Hamid, for some savants who belonged to the party of the German Emperor, there were discovered old Arabic manuscripts, but written in Greek letters. We know that the Ghassanid rulers were Arabs, though under Greek influence,

¹ Le Bas, No. 1679 reads it: ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀντωνιανὸν . . . ἱεροταμιῶν τὸ γάμμα ἀπὸ τοῦ . . . (μέχρι) τῆς ἀμαξηλάτου εἰσόδου ἐθεμ[ελιωθη] . . . ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου Διό[ς προσόδων].

and hence, possibly, the Arabic way of putting down the date on the Menodoros inscription. However, this is a point which I must leave to persons more competent than I am to decide."

3. Mr. Hanauer also writes: "On the shaft of one of the columns in the line, inside and parallel with the eastern wall, there is a panel with dovetail appendages at either end. This panel also once bore an inscription which has been purposely chiselled away, and of which only two or three letters can still be made out. Three letters are also to be seen on the fragment of a column in a different place. There was evidently an abundance of these inscriptions in ancient times."



FIG. 2.—Sarcophagus found at Damascus.

4. Mr. Hanauer sends a copy of a Greek inscription found by a Druze lad in descending the mountain after a visit to the shrine of Neby Habil (Abila). It was "close to a sepulchre high up amongst the rocks, and, with fear and trembling, the lad climbed to copy them." The inscription proves to be that mentioning the Tetrach Lysanias and is published by Renan, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, XXVI, Part 2, p. 67. Unfortunately the lad copied the Greek characters as Roman letters, and Mr. Hanauer was unable to verify them.

5. "I enclose photographs of the carving on the end of a large sarcophagus lately found whilst digging foundations for a wall to the yard of the barracks north-west of the Baramke Railway-station

at Damascus. The sarcophagus is cut out of the ordinary limestone, and is quite plain on its other sides. There are no traces of any inscription. The lid has not been found. The length of the part found is 8 feet 2 inches, outside measurement, and 7 feet 2 inches, inside. The sides on either hand and at the lower end are between 5 and 6 inches thick, but the hollow is rounded at the head, and



FIG. 3.—Carving on a Sarcophagus found at Damascus.

therefore somewhat thicker towards the corners at that end. The countenance reminds me of the famous face of Baal (?) at Rukhleh, but I do not remember whether that shows horns." The scale shown is twenty-two inches.

6. Writing on July 21 and 25, Mr. Hanauer observes: "I have lately, in my spare time, been prowling about amongst the streets

south of that called Straight, and find that, on the whole, they resemble those on the northern side in being fairly straight, and intersecting each other . . . But at one point there is a remarkable and very significant difference. Here are streets forming the segments of concentric circles, and a third outer one, which, in its course, seems to have been influenced by the inner streets." The houses within the semi-circles by *Tellet es-Samak* ("the fishmonger's mound") and *Tellet en-Najar* ("the carpenter's mound") are built on the top and sides of a great mound of *débris*. "This I ascertained about a fortnight ago when some houses built along the south side of Straight Street were pulled down, and the core of solid earth and rubbish, rising to a height of from 12 to 15 feet above the roadway of Straight Street, was exposed." The street *Tellet es-Samak* runs in a north-westerly direction into a *cul-de-sac* seventeen paces beyond a passage (thirty-nine paces long) which leads to the *Tellet en-Najar*. At the meeting-point "I found a door from which a staircase and very narrow lane led up to another staircase and *cul-de-sac*, conducting to houses built on the summit of the great mound, and, I think, on a level fully 50 feet above the roadway in Straight Street." The chord from where the *Tellet es-Samak* leaves Straight Street to where the *Tellet en-Najar* enters into the latter is 158 paces. The pier marked H upon the plan "is the only vestige of old masonry that I could note."

"The discovery of these curiously concentric streets makes me think that they probably enclose the site of the theatre of Roman times. It is not likely that Damascus was without such an edifice when other Greek-Roman cities, including Baalbek, had theirs."

7. "A hoard of about two hundred silver coins of Philip of Macedon, Alexander, and various Ptolemaic and Seleucid kings has quite recently been found at Zahleh. I have just had a number brought for me to see."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

UNDERGROUND JERUSALEM.

Underground Jerusalem : Discoveries on the Hill of Ophel (1909-1911).

By H. V. (of the École Biblique et Archéologique in Jerusalem).
4to. Lond., 1911. 7s. 6d. net. Field Office, Bream's Buildings,
E.C.

The book now published under this title gives the archaeological results of an expedition, the original objects of which need not be discussed. It suffices to say that from the time when its members gave access and encouragement to the learned author their excavations began to have value for the archaeology of Jerusalem; and all those who have any knowledge of the subject will agree that to no man more competent or more scrupulous could such opportunity have been afforded than to Père Vincent of the École Biblique et Archéologique in Jerusalem. The most interesting results concern the Siloam Tunnel. It must not be supposed by the reader that this is a recent discovery. It was known to the seventeenth century writer, Quaresimus; Robinson measured its length in April, 1838; Barclay and Wilson both visited it; and Warren surveyed it in December, 1867. The plan is included in his published survey.

The famous "Siloam Inscription" describing the making of the tunnel from the two ends was discovered in 1880. In November, 1881, Conder, accompanied by Mantell and the late Mr. Armstrong, revisited the tunnel, and, recognising its importance in view of the decipherment of the inscription, repeated his visit later in the same month. He reported that little more could be done until the accumulated *débris* could be cleared out, but the water was lowered with the object of more careful search, and he again measured the length.

Warren's survey has been used for the purposes of the expedition under consideration—both plan and complete section of the Siloam Tunnel. Indeed Plan V is a reproduction of these, and one must remark that in all the plans the distinction between what had already been surveyed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and such of the small branch tunnels as were opened and surveyed by this

recent expedition, is not made sufficiently clear. The reader who has not already informed himself on the subject would be apt to suppose that much more was due to the expedition now described than is, in fact, the case. It must also be noted that the references from the text to the plans are difficult to follow.

It is in connection with the above-named record of *how* the tunnel was made, that evidence as to its antiquity becomes important; and what archaeologists will value in this memoir of the recent excavations is the accurate representation of the pottery found. There are, at the end of the book, ten plates illustrating this, three of them being coloured plates, and the examples shown are sufficient for an expert to form his opinion as to the periods they represent.

In the third and final chapter the author sums up his deductions from what he has seen. In these he seems to write more freely, and the last ten pages of the book are, to any ordinary reader, the most interesting. In the opening chapter Père Vincent deplores certain "misunderstandings" as to the objects of these explorers. If they have been misunderstood they have themselves only to blame. When a party of strangers arrive who, having obtained permission through some unusual channel, set to work in profound secrecy, surround themselves with mystery, those who know anything of the East will feel no surprise that their objects were mistrusted. They were fortunate in making a friend of the author.

J. D. C.

In the *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* (Toronto, 1910), Vol. IX, Part I, Mr. J. P. McMurrich deals with the legend of the "Resurrection Bone," which is worth noticing in these pages as an excellent example of the diversity of factors that can go to build up a belief. In the anatomical works of the seventeenth century mention is made of the *os luz* or "resurrection bone," a bone which could not be injured, and out of which a new individual would be formed. Old Rabbinical tradition knows of the bone *luz* which is also called "the deceitful Bethuel," and Mr. McMurrich points to "Bethuel the Aramaean" (Gen. xxv, 20), and conjectures a confusion of "Aramaean" with *rammai*, "deceiver," and of Bethuel with Bethel otherwise known as Luz. He notes in passing that Bethel Luz was taken by the betrayal of the entrance, "we have the idea of deceit," and draws attention to the city in the land of the Hittites founded by the betrayer (Judges i, 25 seq.). Of *this* Luz

there is a legend in the Talmud (*Sotah*, fol. 46), that it was so powerful that neither Sennacherib nor Nebuchadnezzar could destroy it, "even the Angel of Death has no power to enter it, but the old men in it when their minds become weakened go outside the wall to die." Hence, by another confusion, the origin of the name Luz as applied to the bone. Old opinion varied as to which bone was meant, but the foundation for the notion lies, it is argued, in Psalms xxxiv, 20: "He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken." The latter half can be rendered: "one of them is not broken," and this is the translation found in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and also in Wycliffe's version. "Here, then, was a statement in the sacred text of an indestructible bone existing in the human body, and this was sufficient warrant for the Rabbinical belief in its existence, and a nucleus for the legend which Hebrew mysticism elaborated."

In the *Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1911, No. 2, Dr. Hölcher gives an account of the ostraka found at Samaria by the American excavators (see *Q.S.*, April, 1911, pp. 79-83). Many of the Hebrew forms of the proper names are cited and Dr. Hölcher draws attention to some characteristics of the types. Twice the divine name (in the form יי) is the first element, and six times the second element of the names. In בעל and בעל־אזכר Dr. Hölcher would see the feminine equivalent of Baal, although in the former case it is possible to assume an abbreviation such as recurs also in the name עבדא. The place-names mentioned are Shechem and apparently סק, יצת, הצרת, אוא, שפתן and קצה.

Prof. Sayce, in the *Expository Times* for November, contributes a short article on the remarkable Aramaic papyri from the Jewish colony at Elephantine, some of which were published a few years ago, but now reappear together with the rest under the competent editorship of Prof. Sachau. To the fact, now familiar, that these Jews possessed a temple and cultus of some importance and were in close touch with their brethren in Palestine, comes the extremely interesting knowledge that they were acquainted with the romance of Ahikar, the Achiacharus of the Book of Tobit. Besides this, there are fragments of an Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription of Darius I, in which this monarch gives an account of himself. The version is apparently based upon the Assyrian, and it is one of the

romances of Oriental scholarship that the great trilingual inscription at Behistun, which gave the first key to the decipherment of Assyrian, should after so many years be supplemented by Aramaic papyri which prove the accuracy of this decipherment. Prof. Sayce also points out that, although the colony worshipped the national god, "the puritanic intolerance of a Jeremiah was neither understood nor apparently even dreamed of." Among the numerous personal names are Anath and Bethel—deities—"and Prof. Sachau may be right in thinking that shrines or altars of these deities stood in the neighbourhood of the Temple." It may be pointed out that Bethel, as the name of a deity, recurs in the time of Artaxerxes I in Bit-ili-nuri and in the earlier ביתאֵל־לֵנִי (CIS II, 54). The idea of treating the *abode* of a deity as a god finds a parallel in the similar treatment of the deity's *throne* in the Nabataean inscriptions, and recalls the relationship between the goddess Ashirat, or Ashirta, and the *ashīrah* or tree-stump. As Prof. Sayce recognises, these papyri cannot be ignored for their bearing upon Old Testament problems, and he himself points out their significance for the study of Jewish orthodoxy. "The post-Exilic exclusiveness of Yahweh-worship was due to a combination of the prophetic teaching with the influence of Zoroastrianism and opposition to Babylonian polytheism, and certain of the post-Exilic Psalms are evidence that even in post-Exilic Jerusalem it was long in becoming a matter of orthodoxy."

In the *Journal Asiatique*, 1910–1911, M. R. Weill subjects the traditions of the Hyksos Period to a new and thorough investigation. Instead of combining the data of all ages and sources into some novel version, he devotes himself to a comparison of the historical and traditional evidence, in order to trace the impression which the period made upon subsequent writers. He notes the frequent theme of a state of disorder in Egypt and the artificiality of historical composition. In discussing the fragments of Manetho, preserved by Josephus, he thinks that the combination of the Egyptian traditions with the account of the Exodus is apparently due to artificial endeavours on the one side to belittle and on the other to enhance the recollection of this event. There is what he calls an "anti-Semite" version of the Exodus opposed to a "philo-Semite," and he ingeniously traces the development of the various *motifs* of which they appear to be constituted. His articles are

an interesting contribution to the traditions linking Egypt of the Hyksos Age with the Old Testament and will, we hope, be published in book form.

As a reaction against the tendency to see Babylonia and Babylonian influence almost everywhere in the old Oriental fields, a welcome must be extended to Prof. Albert T. Clay's *Amurru: the Home of the Northern Semites* (Philadelphia, 1909). It bears as sub-title "A Study showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are Not of Babylonian Origin." The first part of the book, after a general introduction, is devoted to the argument that specific Babylonian influence is not necessarily to be found in the account of Creation, the Deluge, etc., and that the culture of the Babylonian Semites originated or was developed in *Amurru* (that is, Syria and Palestine) before it was carried into Babylonia. The second part deals with *Amurru* in the cuneiform inscriptions. Here the effort is made to substantiate the western origin of many of the well-known Babylonian deities. A series of appendices treats of Ur of the Chaldees, and the names Jerusalem, Sargon, Nin-ib, and Yahweh. Although it is difficult to follow Prof. Clay in all his arguments, he at least succeeds in impressing upon the reader that the assumption that Babylonia is responsible for *all* the culture of Palestine and Syria is untenable. That Prof. Clay is fully aware of the importance of Babylonia for these countries is well set forth in his book *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (1907); it is the exaggeration of the claims made for Babylonia against which he contends, and he combines with it an interesting theory of the prominence of the culture of *Amurru* which repays closer study. Some considerations, upon which he does not touch, certainly suggest that the Old Testament implies the existence of a body of thought and practice which find analogies among the Phoenicians, or in Asia Minor, rather than in Babylonia, and if this be so, the theory he proposes might be indirectly strengthened.

S. A. COOK.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

REMOVAL OF THE SOCIETY'S OFFICES.

Subscribers and others are reminded that the Offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund have been established in their new freehold premises, No. 2, **HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.**, and all letters should now be so addressed. Hinde Street leads from the east side of Manchester Square, and No. 2 is next door to Mandeville Place, and on the south side of the street.

The Office and Museum are on the ground floor.

Dr. Duncan Mackenzie returned to England at the close of the past year to prepare for publication his detailed reports on the excavations and other expeditions. He is proceeding to Palestine towards the end of March in order to re-open the work at 'Ain Shems early in April, and to continue his excavations for three months. He will travel by way of Constantinople with the object of conferring with the authorities there on matters affecting his work. In consequence of the outbreak of fever among the workpeople in August last year, it is not proposed to continue working at 'Ain Shems this year beyond July.

Dr. Masterman writes that on his visit to the Dead Sea last November, he observed that the sun-dried bricks of the ancient ruins of Jericho, exposed by the excavations of Dr. Sellin, were rapidly undergoing disintegration owing to the effects of the weather.

The level of the Dead Sea at "Observation Rock" was two feet below that marked in the spring. On visiting Kh. el-Yehud, he found that some of the graves showed signs of having been recently disturbed, probably by "treasure hunters."

Archdeacon Dowling, who contributes notes on coins of Gaza in this issue, has in the press a book entitled *Sketches of Caesarea (Palaestina): Biblical, Mediaeval, Modern. From earliest Caesar to latest Sultan.*

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year just passed, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s. ; unbound, 3s. 6d.

Plaster casts of the raised contour map of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the map is $\frac{1}{25000}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet \times 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The income of the Society from December 15th, 1911, to March 18th, 1912, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £630 18s. 7d.; from Lectures, £42 4s. 0d.; second instalment of legacy bequeathed by the late Miss Mary P. Ropes, £205 2s. 7d.; from sales of publications, £39 0s. 1d.; making in all £917 5s. 3d. The expenditure during the same period was £800 2s. 2d. On March 18th, the balance in the bank was £663 13s. 9d.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1911 is given in the Annual Report published with this number.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) s 6s.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, by Rev. J. E. Hanauer, price 6d. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should send for a copy, price 2s. 6d.

The Arabic astrological treatise by a Jerusalem Christian native, translated and annotated by Miss Gladys Dickson, and first published in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1908-9, can now be obtained in pamphlet form (price 1s. post free).

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by Mr. George Armstrong, is now ready, price 6s. The book has been out of print for some years, but has been frequently enquired for.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings,

where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

The Story of Jerusalem. By Col. Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., etc.; illustrated by Geneviève Watson. (Dent and Sons. 4s. 6d. net.)

Men and Measures; A History of Weights and Measures, Ancient and Modern. By Lieut.-Col. E. Nicholson, A.M.D., F.I.C. (Smith, Elder and Co. 7s. 6d.)

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXIV, Part 1. The Canaanite Alphabet, by Prof. E. Naville; the Aramaic Ostrakon from Elephantinê and the Festival of Passover, by S. Daiches, Ph.D., etc.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, January, 1912. The New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantinê, by Rev. P. Boylan.

Records of the Past, November, December, 1911. Some examples of the Hunchbacked Ox in Syrian Art, by P. S. Ronzevalle, S.J.

The Biblical World, December, 1911. A Lost Jewish Sect, by Prof. J. A. Montgomery.

American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XV, No. 4. Latin and Greek Inscriptions from el-Tekkîyeh near Damascus, by Prof. C. R. Brown.

Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America, September, 1911.

École Française d'Athènes: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, May-December, 1911.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, XXXV, I, 1912. The Jerusalem of "Burchard vom Berge Sion," by Pastor E. Rotermond; the Millo, by Dr. Caspari; on the Topography of Ancient Palestine (Platanus, Capernaum, Kh. Umm el-'Âmūd, Gergesa), by Dr. S. Klein; the name of Lake Tiberias, by Prof. Nestle, etc.

Mittheilungen und Nachrichten of the preceding; 1911, No. 6. Prof. Guthe on the sites of Arus and Asan, etc.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei; 1911, fasc. 5 and 6. P. 240 seq. give a Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia.

See further below pp. 100 sqq.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSPERGER.

(Continued from Q.S., 1912, p. 13.)

THE house in town does not at all resemble the house in the country, and, therefore, many passages in the Bible must be explained with reference to the house in town, while others can only refer to the house in the country. In town the house very much resembles a fortress, being built with big stones shut in among the other houses. It has one low entrance, above which a kind of *māchicoulis* is often found, from which to observe the street or a visitor without being seen. The door (*bab*) has a knocker of iron, and the visitor, after having knocked, is first scrutinized or else is asked who he is. If no man is in the house, he is not admitted; but if a man is in the house, and the door is opened, the visitor begs to be excused, calling aloud *dastar*, a warning for the women to retire, or to veil themselves. The answer comes: "Your permission (*dastarak*) is with you." Almost all the houses, called *dār*¹ more often than *bēt*, are constructed on the same principles.

Immediately inside the door is a large court (*hūsh*) with a cistern (*būr*) for rainwater. The mouth of the cistern is elevated above the level of the court and generally in a corner, and covered with a board to prevent uncleanness from entering, or also, that the children may not fall into it. About October or November these cisterns are empty. When the two spies of David came away from Jerusalem they arrived at Bahurim, where a man had a well (*hē'er*) in his court, whither they went down, and a woman spread a covering over the well's mouth (2 Sam. xvii, 18, 19). All around the court are rooms (*awlad*) serving different purposes. These lower rooms correspond to the chambers which Ezekiel saw about the temple

¹ *Dār* is the fittest word for home, and is generally used in the towns only, originally a Bedawy word from the camp and "encircled home" in North Africa. The village is called *diār*, plural of *dār*.

(Ezek. xl, 16). The rooms are used also in daytime in summer, being cooler, and have no windows, or only very small ones (*ḥakal*; cf. Ezek. xl, 16).

In front of the rooms is a gallery, where it is very agreeable for shade and light; it is called *ṣṭedḥ*; this is very likely the "stories" of 1 Kings vi, 5.

As the townspeople generally call the house *dār*, they call the rooms, when an epithet is to be used, *bēt*; thus, "store-room," *bēt el-mūney*; "sitting-room," *bēt el-dīwān*; "bed-room," *bēt el-nūm*, and so forth. Stores are put away in these lower rooms, and others may be reserved for the servants and women. The kitchen implements are put into one of these rooms, for they have no proper room for the kitchen, though sometimes a small cabinet is found in an odd corner and called *maṭṭaḥḥ*; compare the "boiling-places," Ezek. xlii, 23. More generally there is only a hearth, called *maṭṭaḥḥ*, to boil the water for washing or for cooking. Chimneys do not exist (the word *maḥḥanet* is properly a smoke-hole), and they prefer to make the fire out of doors. The chimney of Hosea xiii, 3, was probably only the black sooty wall behind the fire-place. Besides this fixed fire-place they have movable hearths or fire-grates (*wojāk*), which are carried where they are wanted, either to keep the food warm or to warm the room and inmates in winter. Such a portable hearth was before King Jehoiakim of Judah in his winter-room, when he burned the roll presented by Baruch from Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi, 22, 23). The hearth is also called *ḥanan*, and was also known to the Israelites as *ḥiyyār*, the portable hearth put among the wood in Zech. xii, 6.

The court is paved with flag stones (*balḥat*), for the water to run away as clean as possible into the cistern. Very often the mouths of the cisterns are made of marble which may have been in use for untold years. A rope and bucket are to be found lying or hanging above the opening so as to be always ready for use. A stable is often also to be found for the horse or donkey belonging to the owner, or simply for a guest's animal.

A flight of fifteen or twenty steps leads to the top of the first floor, a more or less wide terrace called *ḥadḥir*, surrounded by high walls with inlaid pots, through the bottom-holes of which one can survey the outside without being seen. The wall (*ḥadḥir*) is a shelter against indiscreet spying and against the wind; at the same time it serves for a look-out as the name, *ḥadḥir*, indicates. The

inner wall facing towards the court is low, and the top is usually furnished with flower-pots, of which the Oriental women are so fond. A room or so is generally built at the farther end of the terrace, belonging to the master of the house and the family—sometimes it is specially reserved for visitors.

The Hebrew house had very nearly the same construction. Besides the lower parts already described there was a flight of steps (Ezek. xl, 6) leading to the “upper chamber.” The latter is to be met with also in the country and is known as *‘oliat*, in contrast to the *awedat*, the lower room.¹ The “upper chamber” was on the terrace or roof (*gāg*, 2 Kings xxiii, 12). The terrace was used to dry fruit, as in Jericho (Joshua ii, 6), or for family gatherings, and for walks without being observed from the outside. The “parapet” (Deut. xxii, 8) which was commanded by law to be built round the terrace, explains how David, taking his afternoon walk, could see without himself being seen (2 Sam. xi, 2). The “room” (Heb. *heder*)² was used by princely persons and women, or for special hiding-places in case of war, as Joseph’s room (Gen. xliii, 30), Jehoshaphat’s (2 Kings ix, 2), the bride’s (Cant. i, 4), Samson with Delilah’s (Judges xv, 1), or Israel’s hiding place (Isaiah xxvi, 20), and the like, whilst Elisha in Shunem (2 Kings iv, 10, 11) and Jeremiah (Jer. xxii, 13, 14) go to the “upper rooms.”

The special rooms round the temple (*leshakoth*) were for priests and strangers; we may compare the modern *zāhat*. The lower rooms have no windows, or else only very small ones, whilst the upper rooms generally have in front a porch called *liadn*, and have one or more large windows called *lakat*: compare the “window” mentioned in the stories of Abimelech (Gen. xxvi, 8) and of Rahab (Joshua ii, 6). These windows are on the inside of the houses looking into the court, whilst the outside windows (*shubak*) are very large and entirely protected by narrow trellis-work, so that the inmates can observe the street and gate without being seen. Very often on warm days, this place is used by one or more members of the family for an airing, or for cooking, for exhibiting flowers, and so forth. Sisera’s mother looked through the *ashnab* (Judges v, 28), and the unfortunate King Ahaziah of Israel, who was enjoying an afternoon in his trellis-work window (*shubakah*, 2 Kings i, 2), had not

¹ The pigeon-hole which is often below the stairs may perhaps be alluded to in Cant. ii, 14.

² [Really distinct from the modern *hadhir* (see above).]

remarked that the wood was rotten, and fell down and died soon after. We only read of these windows with trellis-work in the towns, in Solomon's house, and lordly mansions. The country people, like the modern fellahin, had only the ordinary windows (*hallōn*). Some windows without the wooden trellis-work have an iron grating (*sha'irigel*), probably the *harakkim* of Cant. ii, 9. These windows have shutters (the *tard* or *darfet*), which perhaps were also used on the Israelitish windows; Elisha tells King Joash to open the window (2 Kings xiii, 17). Glass windows were once very rare, but are becoming rapidly known in all newly-built houses.

The roof of the upper rooms is called *sattah*, and is never used for anything, except in very few exceptions, to put things away out of the reach of children, or articles for drying. On the other hand, since it is in uninterrupted communication with the neighbouring houses, it is not always very useful to the owners. As the rooms are generally vaulted, the tops are not flat but have a cupola, covered with plaster, and through this the rain comes very often, especially when severe cold has broken the lime covering, and heavy rains follow. The narrow space left between the cupola and the unprotected walls of the upper roof may be the disagreeable spot alluded to by the writer of Prov. xxv, 24: "It is better to dwell in the corner (narrow space) of the house-top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house." Another writer well knew the dropping through these roofs: "A continual dropping in a very rainy day and a contentious woman are alike" (Prov. xxvii, 15). The word *dālaph*, which is used for dropping, is the same as the modern Arabic (دلف), used only for leaks through the roof. The dripping of water in the gutter (called *carb*) and in the streets (*seil*) can be avoided, but in a Palestinian room on a rainy day nothing more disagreeable can be imagined.

The floors of the rooms and terraces are generally paved with flag-stones (*hallāt*), but where the stones are too expensive they are simply plastered with lime and small stones, thus constituting the *milet*. The *raif* is the irregular pavement of uneven stones used for courts of the khān or the like, and the same root is used for the temple court (2 Kings xvi, 17; Ezek. xl, 17).

The middle of the room is empty, without any chairs, but along the wall or walls is one or more divans (ديوان) — the sofa, generally of wood and covered with a thin mattress and with cushions all around. The sofa may be called the only piece of furniture,

and therefore it is sometimes very luxurious; the wood may be carved, and the cushions and mattress covered with silk or velvet with embroidery. The name *dīwān* is not Arabic, but like many other words of Persian origin has now become thoroughly familiar. The true Arabic term was *mek'adet* or *metka*; the Hebrew uses *mittah*, so of Jacob in Egypt (Gen. xlviii, 2), David (1 Sam. xix, 13), and the sluggard turns on his *mittah* (Prov. xxvi, 14). The fine "couches" of Ezek. xxiii, 41, and Amos iii, 12; vi, 4, are divans covered with ivory.

The beds are called *frāsh* (from a verb "to spread") and consist sometimes of a thin mattress, or only of carpets or a mat (*hazīret*). On the thin mattress is placed a cushion or two, called literally "check-support," resembling the French *oreiller* ("car-support"), and the Hebrew "head-supports" (in Gen. xxviii, 11; 1 Sam. xix, 13). There are no sheets; the covering *lihāf* is, however, used by everybody. These three or four articles constituting the bed are put away during the daytime into a niche in the wall, and "spread out" only at nighttime. Bedsteads are very rare, though they are sometimes found—called *lāḥḏ* or *scr*, the last being also for a cradle. The conjugal bed called *madja* is a name very rarely used. The Hebrew's bed was generally called *mishkāb* (1 Sam. iv, 5; Job vii, 13), but sometimes they called it *yāzūā'*, which was spread in a wide place, or on the terrace in summer (Job xvii, 13; Psalms cxxxii, 3). The conjugal bed in Cant. i, 16, differed only in name (*'eres*). The difference of the beds is shown very often, but more especially in Canticles. The writer, speaking of *their* bed (i, 16) says our *'eres*; of *his* bed (iii, 1), he says *mishkāb*; whilst the *mittah* (iii, 7) is no other than the stately sofa in the reception room (see also Esther i, 6). The thick *lihāf* is called *kēsūth* in Job xxiv, 7; xxxi, 19, whilst the thinner *hērām* is perhaps the *marbaddīm* of Prov. vii, 16; xxxi, 22. The translation "pillows" for *kēsūthōth*, in Ezek. xiii, 18, is not very likely to be exact—the sense is not easily understood: "Woe to women that sew pillows upon all armholes (A.V., R.V. elbows) and make kerchiefs upon every stature (R.V. for the head) to hunt souls."

The carpet, *sijādet*, covering the floor, was originally very small and intended only for prayers (*sajjed*). The sofa already mentioned is always in one place, whilst low chairs (*karrāsi*, plural) are put away when not used—and they are more often not used—as well as the low table (*skandet*) which is only employed at meals, so that the

rooms seem almost empty. The modern tables, *tawelet*, a word evidently derived from the Italian *tabula*, now begin to be employed, as well as a chest of drawers with a looking-glass (*merah*) and flower-vases on top. This is the whole of the furniture, which, except for the few modern articles mentioned, has been very much the same since the days of the prophet's wife in Shunem: Elisha having passed there several times, a *rich woman* built an upper chamber for the prophet and furnished it with a *mittah* (bed) and a table and a chair and a lamp (2 Kings iv, 10). Several cupboards are built into the wall, and in them are put the porcelain-ware and sweets, valuable spoons and so forth.

The walls and ceiling are whitewashed, and painted lines or flowers ornament the corners in red or blue (*cf.* Jer. xxii, 14). In the middle of the ceiling forming the centre of the vault is a big ring fixed into the building.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

By W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLEY.

(*Continued from Q.S., 1912, p. 20.*)

XXVIII.—*Nekhl to Yelleg and el-Galla.*

THE road from Nekhl to Yelleg is most uninteresting: a large open plain with small undulations and many small watercourses, the only large ones being the Wady el Maithan and Wady el-Baruk. These have a line of large bushes, either tarfa or rattan. In the case of the Wady Maithan there is only rattan, it being a long open shallow wady. On the second day the wind was so strong and carried so much sand, that it was impossible to see Yelleg in the north-west at all. We therefore stopped. Early March and April are bad months in Sinai.

Haji Mabruk told the story of his early life. He was a robber, stealing the cattle of his neighbours, when one day the Prophet sent him a dream in which all his bad ways were clearly shown.

He made up his mind to renounce them and go on the pilgrimage. It is the custom for one going on the pilgrimage (as also at the time of marriage) to borrow money from all; this is paid back (the sums being entered in a book) either at the time of marriage or when the lender goes on a pilgrimage. Should the lender do neither it is paid back when possible. Having found the pilgrimage very profitable, he returned twice again, thus benefitting himself body and soul. The means of bodily profit is this. A good judge of camels—and this is by no means common—goes among the pilgrims at Mecca, saying that he has camels to let for the return journey, it being customary to go by steamer to Jeddah, but to return on camel back either the whole way round, touching at Akaba, or by Medina and then on to Yambu, and there take ship. Having got four to agree to hire his beasts, say for £6, to Suez (this is an ordinary price), he collects from each of his passengers £2 to £3 in advance, and goes off to buy beasts. A shrewd man can see what a camel will turn into by good feeding. The buyer may have a little money of his own as well, in loose cash. This makes things somewhat easier for himself, and a good deal more so for the future rider. Some do not feed their camels the whole way to Suez, but rely on the wayside scrub. I have myself travelled in the Eastern desert, which is worse for pasturage, forty-two days, covering about a thousand miles, without carrying any food for the camel.

The sun coming out, we were able to proceed, but still a strong wind blow, bringing with it, however, no sand. We passed several spots with stone circles, but could find no remains near them, nor were the stones forming the circles at all marked.

I was interested in watching a bird, a specimen of which I was unable to get. It was about the size of a thrush, of the same brown colour as the sand-martin on the back, with a white breast, the tail feathers having black tips, the primary feathers in the wings being also tipped with black. This is a very rough description, as it is difficult to see the feathering of a bird when hidden by overlapping, and whilst in constant movement. The bill, though not much longer than that of the thrush, is curved, to scale, if I may use the expression, of the hoopoe, which it uses in much the same way, digging with it in quick successive dabs into the soft sand accumulated round patches of grass. Its most curious habit, and I have only noticed it performing it during the heat of the day, is to

throw itself up in the air to about one yard in height: it then turns and falls head first to the ground. I have never been very close to where the bird was doing this, and cannot therefore say whether it uses its wings in two or three very quick movements to propel itself up; but when once off the ground it does not use its wings at all, going up and coming down like a clod of earth. While in the air it gives three deep whistles of one low note.

The entrance into the wādy is very rough, the wash-down from Yelleg having carried with it many large stones, and generally broken up the ground. The rocks of Yelleg from the first and smaller are all faulted at an acute angle with the precipitous side towards the side. After proceeding some little way up the wādy there is a small side valley on the right hand, the entrance to which is blocked by great mounds of earth and rocks. About one kilometer up this valley is a *mukhan* (water-store) which, although empty, I am glad I saw, as it differed from any I have previously seen. The water poured down a rift of hard rock, divided only by a chasm of less than two feet from the flat surface of a great mass of sandstone, and had hollowed out two basins. The upper spoon-shaped basin was of no great size, but the lower was now really large and capable of holding much water. It has almost exactly the shape of a weaver-bird's nest hollowed out in the soft stone. To take water from this reservoir it is necessary to use a long rope with a skin attached.

It took us till 12 o'clock to reach the top, the ascent being pretty steep. Once at a certain height, plants of all kinds began to cover even this stony ground. Hemdan, my guide, stopped many times, digging from the soil those plants whose roots were edible. One of these was the wild onion; another, which had a flower much resembling the common dandelion, though smaller in size and with fewer petals, had a root resembling a diminutive Jerusalem artichoke. Beneath the brown skin it showed a growth much the texture of a potato, which, almost at once, on being exposed turned to a bright azure blue. Another plant, having the appearance of the ordinary wild geranium, had a root to which tubers like small potatoes were attached; these are very sweet, and good eating.

The Nuqqub, although presenting a perpendicular face to the winding valley up which one has ascended, is really not difficult: a winding path zigzags up the left side of the valley, until it reaches the saddle. I picked up two different fossil shells on the Nuqqub,

of which there was a great quantity. I know nothing of geology, but one resembled *Cardita* and the other *Pecten Jacobeus* (?). The latter was generally stuck fast in detached pieces of rock, showing either a chipped inner and much defaced surface, or an imbedded rim. The former were in many cases in good condition.

The view from Ras Yelleg was very fine, commanding an enormous extent of the country, with its large detached hills, standing up from the plain like the bubbles that break up out of boiling tar. The absolutely arid appearance of the land at this height is striking, when the small growth has become invisible. The wadies running away from the hill-foot, seen only by the deep shadow of the one side as far as the eye can reach, have, in their entwined and irregular course, the appearance of the veins and arteries of some enormous creature.

The whole upper part of the hill is covered with different bulbous plants, of each of these I gathered a number. We caught during the night, in a mousetrap I set, the small mouse *Herpestes*. These are called *bequdi* by the Arabs and are, I think, the most widely-spread of any animal in Egypt. I do not know any place where they are not to be found—that is to say, in desert localities. I have never found them in cultivated areas.

The wells—there are three—are very high up: they contain much water and are evidently caused by a large rock basin in a gulley, which being filled by earth prevents the evaporation of the water. Nowhere on Yelleg did I find any stone circles, or any signs of its having been inhabited. The rocks, often from weathering, have a singular resemblance to ruined buildings, and these sent us on many a wild-goose chase.

On one flat piece of rock across the path we saw a rough-cut footprint. In the evening we put up a bustard, but were unable to get close enough for a shot.

The plain, even as far as el Galla, had the same appearance as the more southerly parts, large gradual undulations like waves, and small wadies. From Yelleg to el-Galla is a good two days' walk. Crossing the Pilgrim road and passing Jebel Henen, we kept closer to the escarpment running parallel with it. We arrived near to el-Galla at sunset. We passed here various patches of very unpromising barley—this kind of Arab cultivation is indeed a lottery. Though common, it is, however, by no means general. In the early part of the year, before the rain comes, a wady is chosen, ploughed

up, and sown, and the rest of the time is spent in calling upon heaven in its mercy to water it.

I was astonished to find, in the ground scored by small but deep wadies round the foot of el-Galla, a strong stone wall stretching across from one side to the other, with three strong stone buttresses to support it. It now simply forms a waterfall, the other side of the wady having been filled up with rubbish and earth till its level capped the wall. We camped here, where at some time there had evidently been houses, intending on the next day to visit the Galla (fortress). But in the evening rain began to fall and drizzled on during the night. In the morning it was worse, and soon began to pour; it was impossible to stay where we were, all wet through. The water also began to fill the wādy.

We went, all in different directions, in search of something to afford us shelter. The rain now poured in torrents: it was like walking in a milk pudding. To move the camels anywhere but up the wadies was impossible. I found a shelter in one direction about a mile off; its objection was that you could only lie flat in it, but it was dry. Hemdan found one a little nearer in his direction; but though you could sit up in it, the disadvantage of it was that you had to go up two hundred yards on all fours to reach it, it was so steep. After a night and half a day in the rain it appeared a palace: in reality it was merely a projecting rock at the top of the escarpment. We managed by many attempts and the sacrifice of De Quincey's *Opium Eater* to make a fire. It poured in torrents during the whole day, stopping only in the evening for two hours. The next morning was showery, but we managed to reach the Galla situated on an isolated hill. The cement in the great magazines was still good, particularly the one under the central mosque. The fortress dates, I think, only from the time of Mohammed 'Ali, having been built by a pascha who was exiled, named Sudr. The Arabs say that from this fortress, with his guns, he commanded the spring in the Wady Sudr. I was much disappointed that it was not older. Several rooms were in very good repair. I got through a hole on all fours and found myself in a passage which led to a bathroom, in which the plaster was still white and not even much scratched. It must have cost a great deal of money with little object. Provisions were brought from Gargah, and the Arabs say that Sudr was bombarded in his stronghold and then retired to Gargah. How he effected an escape I

cannot think—situated, as he was, on the pinnacle of an isolated hill with precipitous sides. The amount of work put into this building is astonishing, the capping rock having been cut straight first and then built up in continuation with dressed blocks of the same reddish rock.

All the wood used as lintels came from date-palms.

I was astonished to find I had trapped a species of mouse I had never seen before. During the night I had several times heard what reminded me more than anything else of the noise made by the common squirrel, which is generally the sequel of three or four spread-eagle bounds up the trunk of a tree, and a shake of the tail. I had curiously enough remarked the same sound on Yelleg, and have no doubt it was one of these animals round the trap of the Jerboa mouse.

It is rather smaller than the ordinary rat, with large ears, and the same grey colour as the chinchilla. It has a black mark round the eye and carried back in a line some way from the eye. The tail has a black tuft at the end, but is otherwise pink and not covered with hair. It is nocturnal in its habits, and the two I caught slept so soundly during the day that I was able to open the box and even touch them without waking them up. It was such a torpor that Abdullah came to me with the animal in his hand saying it was dead, and I was at first deceived, only a slight movement on its part made us return it to the box. In the night, however, they were very lively. I think this mouse lives only on the hill. I never caught or saw the mark of any on the plain.

Hemdan, and of course my own two Arabs, had never seen one before. The black mark particularly tickled their fancy, and the mouse went at once by the name of *‘Abu kohel*, *kohel* being the black stuff used by native women for the eyes. The little beasts lived for three days and then succumbed to a *khamṣīn* wind.

From the Galla to the Wādy el-Būm, where we camped on the first night of our return to Nekhl, the road was uninteresting with no landmarks. The country had, however, changed appearance, with many pools in all the wādies full of water. The Arabs were also all rushing about to their various plots in great exultation at this unexpected rainfall, execrating the ravages of hare and gazelle on their larger crops, which a few days before they had watched apathetically. The Wādy el-Būm was full of water and it was possible to have a swim, though a very small one. I found it also

possible to slip in again when I was dressed, much to the amusement of the Arabs; anything like this slime-topped land I never walked on. The Bedouin, of which two were accompanying us, washed when they came to water, but the fellahin merely looked on. This is usual, as the Bedouin are in many respects the cleaner race.

We reached Nekhl the next afternoon without passing any features of interest.

(To be continued.)

THE RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS ON THE HILL OF OPHEL (*JERUSALEM SOUS TERRE*), 1909-11.¹

By GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
F.R.S., R.E.

IN the Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1912, there are two notices of the work of the Parker Expedition at Jerusalem, 1909-11, so that I need occupy no space over preliminaries, and can proceed at once to my subject.

For reasons denied to the public, the names of the members of the expedition and their objects and aims have been withheld, and the nature of the work generally has been wrapped in mystery. In the translator's preface to *Underground Jerusalem*, 1911, we are promised that on the completion of the expedition's work the proceedings will be recorded in a final and complete volume, to be published by Messrs. Constable and Co.

In the meantime, a tentative volume (*Jerusalem sous terre*), by the Rev. Father H. Vincent, has been published by Mr. Horace Cox, dealing with the portion of the work of the expedition which relates to clearing out the tunnels and aqueducts about the Virgin's Fount to Siloam, of which surveys and descriptions had already been published by the P.E.F., 1867-1876. It is evident from Father Vincent's account that the expedition was very liberally supplied with money and material, but whether they were equally equipped for scientific research seems doubtful.

We cannot, however, judge of the work of the expedition until their volume is published, for Father Vincent expressly states that he

¹ French Edition by H. Vincent, and English Translation.

accepts full responsibility for every error in plan and letterpress of *Jerusalem sous terre*, only he records that the proofs have been read by the leader of the expedition.

I should not have considered it necessary, or even desirable, to make any remarks on excavations which do not at present materially increase our knowledge of the Holy Land, had the account been written in a fair and reasonable spirit, but it has been represented to me that the statements of Father Vincent do a grievous injustice to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund in former years, and that I am the only person sufficiently acquainted with the work to put matters straight. I respond with alacrity to this call to duty in connection with work I carried out in 1867.

The matters I have to deal with are threefold.

(1) Father Vincent, in speaking of my work at Jerusalem, in the English translation—states vaguely: “far too many points were left uncertain to give a real value to his results. The structure and exact proportion of his galleries, the nature of his caverns, even the fact about one of his walls, which was supposed to be a natural cavity—all this remained uncertain. The few objects of archaeological interest discovered, only complicated the problem, instead of throwing light upon it.” (*Underground Jerusalem*, p. 11.) In the *Revue Biblique* (January, 1912, p. 86) these strictures are still more pointed and are untrue; the reason for these ungenerous remarks are to be found in the next paragraph.

2. Having thus cast on one side the work of the *P.E.F.*, the author takes all our plans and sections and uses them, giving no indication that the tunnels have already been examined, surveyed, and published in Plates 42 and 43 of the *P.E.F.* Plates. For example—the expedition's surveys of the plans of the tunnel, Virgin's Fount to Siloam, and of the gallery, Virgin's Fount to Ophel, coincide almost exactly with the original surveys of the *P.E.F.*; the inference is either that one set of plans are copied from the other, or that they are both remarkably accurate.

3. On the other hand, there are discrepancies and errors in Father Vincent's sections which quite preclude their being of any use for scientific purposes, and the letterpress has a different lettering to the plans; but this latter discrepancy has been recognized and removed by the publication of amended plans in the *Revue Biblique*, January, 1912.

Father Vincent gives an account of the work of the expedition as follows :—

(a) Clearing out the mud and débris in the rock-cut aqueduct leading from the Virgin's Fount to Siloam, and making a re-survey of the aqueduct. (Original Survey, Plate 42, *P.E.F.*)

(b) Discovery of, and clearing out of some rock-cut channels (for about 50 feet). These are not of any importance at present and need not be referred to again.

(c) Clearing silt and débris off the floor of rock-cut staircase leading from the shaft (Joab's Gutter) near the Virgin's Fount to the chasm. (These passages are all depicted on Plate 43, *P.E.F.*) In this work the expedition made one discovery, which, however, throws no light at present on any point: They found an exit in the rock to the open air from the top of the shaft. They also examined the chasm for about ten feet below the point where I was obliged to leave off in 1867. This chasm is the one real point of interest in these subterranean passages, as it is supposed by some to be the entrance to David's Tomb; yet, singularly enough, this chasm appears to have been left without a thorough examination, as there is no detailed account of it in the letterpress, and three sections of it (given in *Underground Jerusalem*, Plates III c, and V, and *Revue Biblique*, January, 1912, Plate V) differ in the most unaccountable manner.

In considering the results of these excavations, we must make a clear distinction between what the expedition may hereafter consider them to be, and what Father Vincent considers them to be now.

Father Vincent, as a distinguished archaeologist, has been writing about these very tunnels for some years past.

He states that the results of these excavations of the expedition, 1909–11, are twofold (p. 32, English translation):

(1) That the aqueduct from Virgin's Fount to Siloam is now determined to be the work of King Hezekiah.

(2) That the rock-cut passage, shaft, and staircase, from the Virgin's Fount to Ophel is now proved to be the gutter (*šinnūr*) up which Joab ascended.

Father Vincent, however, does not mention in any way how these excavations prove this, and I may frankly state that his Chapter III, with all his deductions, might have been written just as appositely before the excavations of 1909–11 were made.

I may say further, that these deductions were made by him before the Parker excavations commenced, and are published in the pages of the *P.E.F. Q.S.*, 1908, p. 225. I quote his words:—

“But everyone will remember the system of canals discovered and boldly explored by Lieut.-Gen. Warren, and a connexion between the subterranean communication from the city to the well, and the *sinnor* of 2 Samuel v, 8, has long presented itself to acute minds.”

“ . . . I did not hesitate in my recent work (*Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, p. 27, No. 1) to attribute the *sinnör* to the Jebusites of the 15th to the 11th century B.C., at Jerusalem.”

If we search back for the origin of the *gutter* theory we must go back to a time, 1867–8, when the late Bishop of Jerusalem, then the Rev. Joseph Barclay, Dr. Chaplin, and I used to meet together in the evening to discuss the topography of Jerusalem, and argue the point as to whether Jebus could actually have been on Ophel. But the first time the theory of the gutter (*sinnör*) of Joab actually came before the public was when the Rev. W. F. Birch, in 1877–8, boldly championed it in the *P.E.F. Q.S.*, 1878, stating at p. 179, that “the ‘gutter’ was the secret passage above the Virgin’s Fount, discovered by Captain Warren, up which Joab climbed with the aid of Araunah.” No new facts have since accumulated, but, as time has gone on, the position of Jebus or Zion on the slopes of Ophel has become more and more apparent. For some years the pages of the *P.E.F. Q.S.* were full of discussions for and against the site of Jebus on Ophel. The difficulty from the beginning to my mind was the site to be assigned to *Akra*, if it were in one place from early times; I therefore kept an open mind until it occurred to me that *the Akra* in Greek, like *the citadel* in English, would simply mean the inner fort of the day, so that *the Akra* might be in different places at different periods. As soon as this was clear to me, there could remain no shadow of a doubt that Jebus was on the ridge south of the Temple, near to the Virgin’s Fount, and so I have shown it in my article on Jerusalem in *Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible* (1908). Nothing that the recent expedition of 1909–11 has brought forward can possibly alter this view one way or another. Moreover, it is only so long as there is but one spring known in Jerusalem, that Jebus must be on Ophel.

With reference to the aqueduct cut in rock from the Virgin’s Fount to Siloam, we are in the same position as we were forty-five years ago, except that we have the inscription describing the cutting.

It was then supposed to be the work of King Hezekiah; but which work? There are three notices of King Hezekiah's cuttings in the rock, viz., at 2 Kings xx, 20; 2 Chronicles xxxii, 30; Ecclesiasticus xlvi, 17, these may all be one achievement, or they may be three. Father Vincent evidently does not know which to choose from, as he gives all three (p. 39, English translation). To my view, one certainly, if not two, refer to the aqueduct in the northern part of the city, brought right down along the west side of the Temple wall to the west side of Zion. Whilst considering the aqueduct in question (Virgin's Fount to Siloam) to be probably the work of King Hezekiah, I am not convinced that there is any mention of it in the Bible, excepting so far as it is mentioned that Hezekiah dug much in the rock. The fact is, there is no absolute certainty about sites except in a few cases, and we may yet find the springs without the city, which Hezekiah stopped up, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land (see *Jerusalem: Waters*, p. 403, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*), and when we do so, we may have to modify our conception of the position of Jebus. We can only conjecture from what we know.

As Father Vincent considers the two points above-mentioned determined as the result of the recent expedition, 1909-11, I give some extracts from my remarks in the *Recovery of Jerusalem* (1871), p. 303: "The principal difficulty I find—but this is common to all theories—is, that in the book of Nehemiah, the City of David, the House of David, and the Sepulchre of David, all appear to be on the south-eastern side of the Hill of Ophel, near the Virgin's Fount, or En Rogel, yet such a position for Zion appears at first sight to be out of the question," the difficulty being that the Millo is called in the Septuagint "the Akra," and in Maccabees, the City of David is called the Akra, and yet the Akra of Josephus was evidently not south of the Temple. So long as the Akra was one place, through all ages, Zion could not be on Ophel.

On p. 307 I identify the Virgin's Fount with En Rogel, and on p. 209 I point out that the rock-cut tunnel, from Virgin's Fount to Siloam, is the work of King Hezekiah, and that the rock-cut shaft and staircase was made to bring water within the walls of the city.

This was, of course, all conjecture, just as it is at the present day, but conjecture which has secured the adherence of increasing numbers.

As to the results of the work of the expedition, 1909-11, there is very little to be said, as they did not fully examine the one spot where examination was required, judging from the report given—the chasm. But the same is to be said of this expedition as of any other—any records about Jerusalem, if carefully recorded, add to our knowledge of the Holy City, and may turn out most useful and important some day.

But we must retain our sense of proportion in these matters, and we cannot allow the discoveries made in 1867 to be belittled and obliterated by Father Vincent, and then brought up again by him as though they were only made in 1909-11.

If the expedition of 1909-11 have made any new discoveries, let them declare them, and we shall all rejoice; or let them point out in what particulars they can confirm discoveries made before; or, again, if they find errors or mistakes in former work, let them point them out. But do not let them make such objections as the following, page 11 (English translation): “The few objects of archaeological interest discovered only complicated the problem instead of throwing light upon it, for they consisted of vases in glass or terracotta.” This reminds me of the manner in which Canon Williams once summed up a similar argument—“Why, at this rate, any passage in any book will be sufficient in itself to settle the whole controversy.”

In conclusion, let me call attention to a deduction of Father Vincent as to the time it would have taken the Hebrews or Jebusites to make the tunnel from the Virgin's Fount to Siloam.

Ecclesiasticus says that Hezekiah dug the rock with iron, but Father Vincent states that the tunnel and the *šinnār* were cut with chisels of iron or brass, wedges of the same metal, hammers and clubs of metal or of stone.

The effect of iron in comparison with brass (or even copper and bronze) must differ enormously in cutting through hard rock, and yet Father Vincent at p. 39 (English translation), without any data whatever, proceeds “to fix the exact time the workmen must have taken to excavate the tunnel: I am sure it could not have been less than six months. The extreme limit would be about eleven.”

Finally, let me observe that there was no secrecy or mystery about the excavations of the *P.E.F.* in Jerusalem in 1867-70. The shafts and galleries were open to the inspection of all, and were

examined and reported on by experts of all nationalities, and the fullest publicity permitted.

The pottery found was photographed periodically by Mr. P. Bergheim, and selections were sent to London and reported on by Mr. Greville Chester in the *Recovery of Jerusalem*.

No doubt, during the last forty-five years, much has been added to our knowledge of ceramic ware from discoveries in the East; and if the *P.E.F.* pottery is again examined we may learn if any mistakes have been made in former days.

Let me suggest that the work of the expedition of 1909-11 be examined in the same searching manner, by independent experts, as was the work of the *P.E.F.*, 1867-70, and we may then learn to what extent the recent excavations have added to our knowledge.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF RACHEL'S TOMB.

By PROF. R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

I.

THE following article was written by me some years ago, and has lain in my portfolio ever since. I had decided not to publish it, for I discovered, after the paper was written, that the main thesis had already been anticipated in Prof. Clermont-Ganneau's *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*. A paper published in last year's *Quarterly Statement*, bearing indirectly on the subject, has however induced me to bring it forward. It can at least claim to be the result of an independent study of the subject, but I freely concede to Prof. Clermont-Ganneau the rights of priority due to him.

The reader, unacquainted with the country north of Jerusalem, is recommended to follow this paper with a good modern map, such as Principal G. A. Smith's, or Sheet XVII of the inch Ordnance Survey.

II.

The ancient highways from Jerusalem to the north and the east did not follow the courses of the present roads. The northern route passed through Bethel, which is east of the modern road—if *Beitin*,¹ where no one has ever found any relics of great antiquity,

¹ Modern names are given in *italics* in this paper.

be really the representative of that ancient shrine. This fact is shown, *inter alia*, by Bethel being the spot where Jeroboam intercepted worshippers bound for Jerusalem (1 Kings xii, 29). From this point onwards the course is traced out by Isaiah's graphic description of the Assyrian march (Isaiah x, 28). In this passage there is a certain subtlety of diction traceable, which helps us to distinguish between places actually on the road and those in its neighbourhood, and so enables us to trace out the line with exactness, in spite of some uncertainty as to the position of Aiath [—Ai], with which the itinerary begins. The Assyrian PASSES THROUGH MIGRON—probably a district rather than a definite place, once elsewhere mentioned (1 Sam. xiv, 2). He LIGHTENS HIS CARAVAN AT MICHMASH, certainly the modern *Mukhmas*, no doubt in order to prepare for the difficult passage of the *Wady Succinil*. He TAKES UP HIS QUARTERS AT GEBÄ, which is certainly the modern *Jeba*. Then the prophet breaks off to picture the consternation of the surrounding villages—RAMAH TREMBLES, GIBEÄH FLEES, GALLIM CRIES OUT HER WARNINGS TO LAISHAH—but he reserves his pity for UNFORTUNATE ANATHOTH, for that is the next stage on the route. Two other villages, no longer traceable, Madmenah and Gebim by name, flee likewise in the panic. These also are probably off the route, but in the neighbourhood: and then the Assyrian ascends the ridge of the Mount of Olives on its eastern face, and from the High Place at Nob, which must have been somewhere on the summit of the ridge,¹ he lifts his hand in menace to the city of Jerusalem lying at his feet.

With this itinerary accords the fatal journey of the Levite from Bethlehem of Judah, described in Judges xix. He left Bethlehem in the afternoon (v. 9), passed by Jerusalem, and about nightfall (v. 14) arrived at a place where it was difficult to decide whether to seek a night's lodging in Ramah or in "Gibeah" (v. 13). Now Ramah, it is agreed on all hands, is to be equated with the modern *er-Ram*: and that being assumed, it follows that Gibeah (more correctly written "Geba" in Judges xx, 10, 33) must be *Jeba*. For the only other identifications possible are (i) *Tell el-Fül* and (ii) *el-Jib*, north of *Neby Samwil*. The second is ruled out by the fact that there is no spot equidistant between *er-Ram* and *el-Jib* that could be reached from Bethlehem in the specified time. And if we assume the Isaiah itinerary, it will be seen on reference to the map

¹ In any case Nob cannot possibly be *Tell el-Fül*.

that there is no spot on the road where a wayfarer would have a difficulty in making up his mind between *Tell el-Fūl* and *er-Ram*.¹

On the other hand, if the Levite had reached the site of the modern village of *Himneh*, which he could just manage in the time² allowed by the story, then *er-Ram* and *Jeba'* would both be before him, and he might easily be for a moment in doubt as to where to pass the night. The choice of *Jeba'*, which ultimately proved so disastrous, would be most natural: it was slightly nearer, and closer to the road he had intended to follow in the morning (to the "House of Yahweh," *i.e.*, probably Bethel—according to chap. xix, 18).

III.

The journey to the *Ghūr* followed the same route. David, in his flight from Absalom, would take the most expeditious way known to him. Now his itinerary was "by the ascent of the Olives" to "the top where Elohim was worshipped" (2 Sam. xv, 30, 32)—*i.e.*, to some High Place on the ridge, presumably Nob. Then he proceeded to Bahurim (xvi, 5) which there is reason for identifying with *Himneh*, or at least placing in its neighbourhood; after which the indications are not clear, save that the reference to the fugitives "refreshing themselves" by the way (xvi, 14) is suggestive of the delightful spring of water in the *Wady Farah*. This (probably the "Euphrates" of Jer. xiii) is still one of the most favoured spots for excursions from Jerusalem.

As for *Himneh*, it can scarcely be dissociated from [Beth-] Azmaveth, a place mentioned in Neh. vii, 28, along with the neighbouring Anathoth (*Anath*).³ This name presumably means "the house of Azmaveth" which was the name of a Benjamite (1 Chron. xii, 3) in David's company of mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii, 31).

¹ The original draft of this paper had at this point the words "quite apart from the fact that *Tell el-Fūl* is nothing but a dilapidated watch-tower with a very small and not very ancient settlement round it." I have excised this passage in deference to Dr. Mackenzie's recently expressed opinion of the site: he must have found some evidence which I missed in numerous visits to the spot. With his judgment on the insignificance of *Kh. Adaseh* I cordially agree: I spent a day examining this site, but found nothing worth reporting.

² Probably the season was summer, or early autumn, which would give a longer afternoon for the journey. The only indication of time is the reference to the Shiloh feast (chap. xxi, v. 19) which was probably some kind of harvest festival.

³ The parallel passage, Ezra ii, 24, omits the prefixed "Beth."

In the latter passage he is called "the Barhumite," and in 1 Chron. xi, 33, "the Baharumite." Is it possible that the village changed its name after his death, just as *Tell el-Jezari* changed its name to *Abū Shūsheh* to commemorate the holy man who had lived and died there? However that may be, the name of Bahurim disappears after the time of David. The Targum of Jonathan interprets Bahurim by "Almon," which appears in Josh. xxi, 18, in connexion with Gibeon, Geba, and Anathoth as the priestly cities of Benjamin. In the parallel passage, 1 Chron. vi, 60, the name appears as Ailemeth, which, in the form *Almūt*, is still the name of a ruin immediately south of *Hizmeḥ*.

Isaiah makes no reference to *Hizmeḥ* under any name in the Assyrian itinerary. Somewhere near, however, was Gallim, a now unknown village, which as we have inferred above was off the high road. This inference is corroborated by the story of Palti or Paltiel, the temporary husband of Michal, David's wife, who was a native of this village (1 Sam. xxv, 44). When Abner and Ish-bosheth took Michal away (2 Sam. iii, 15) they would naturally make their way by the by-road leading from the village to the main road; and though they might suffer the dispossessed husband to follow them thus far, the arrival at the main road would be a natural point to give him a peremptory order to return. This order was given at Bahurim.

IV.

Jacob, after his return from his long sojourn in the East, made his way to Bethel to pay the vows he had taken in the sanctuary there at the beginning of his journey. While he was there, Deborah, the old nurse of Rebekah, died—how, why, and when she had joined Jacob's establishment does not appear—and was buried "below Bethel, under the terebinth" (Gen. xxxv, 8).

We seem to hear more about this terebinth at later stages of the Old Testament history. Although the tree of Deborah, the wife of Lappidoth, "between Ramah and Bethel," is in Judges iv, 5, called a palm, it seems slightly more probable that one of the writers or copyists made a slip about the species of the tree, than that there should be two trees consecrated to the memory of two women of the same name, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bethel: while, on the other hand, nothing is more likely than that a prophetess who happened to be a namesake of an inmate of the first Israelite household, should

associate herself with the tree which perpetuated that patriarchal memory. A terebinth, or oak, is a more likely tree to find at Bethel than a palm, and it is certainly more suitable, either for shade or for the giving of oracles (as in 2 Sam. v, 24). It is an odd coincidence, but hardly, I think, anything more, that there is almost exactly on the spot indicated, between Bethel and Ramah, and below the former site, a ruin called *Khurbat Ibn Barak*, just south of which is the modern village *Burkah*.

It is, to say the least, tempting to equate "the Oak of Tabor," which was somewhere below Bethel (1 Sam. x, 3) with this oak of Deborah. This identification is at least as old as Ewald.

Rachel's death took place, according to Gen. xxxv, 16, "on the way to Ephrath." After she was buried, Jacob pursued his way, but, unfortunately, his subsequent itinerary is not exactly specified. We learn only that he finally pitched beyond Migdol 'Eder, a place in the south border of Judah (Joshua xv, 21) and so remote that it seemed to Micah (iv, 8) a suitable boundary for the restored kingdom. Nothing more is known of it.

Now, "Ephrathah" (not "Ephrath") was the name of the district in which Bethlehem of Judah was situated. Micah (v, 2) speaks of "Bethlehem of Ephrathah," and David's father is called "an Ephrathite of Beth-lehem-of-Judah" (1 Sam. xvii, 12), much as we might speak of "a Kentish man of Canterbury." Some copyist, with this in mind, inserted, after the name of Ephrath in the story of Rachel, the gloss "the same is Beth-lehem" (Gen. xxxv, 19; xlvi, 7); and that unknown meddler is, no doubt, primarily responsible for the well-known domed monument of Rachel on the impossible site between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The testimony of Jeremiah (xxxi, 15) is direct evidence that, in his time, tradition put the tomb of Rachel at or near Ramah; for the prophet hears the great clan-mother in her grave at Ramah bewailing the captivity of her children, and being comforted by Yahweh. The adaptation of this passage by St. Matthew (ii, 18) to the Massacre at Bethlehem, shows that the transference of tradition to the present site had taken place by the beginning of the Christian Era.

It is natural, then, to examine the map of the route followed by Jacob in his journey south from Bethel, especially in the neighbourhood of Ramah, for any geographical indications that may help to fix the site of Ephrath; a name evidently denoting something different from Ephrathah, though the glossator has confused them.

And it is at least suggestive to find an echo of this ancient place-name in that of *Wady Farah*, the valley running eastward from *Hizme*, to which allusion has already been made.

V.

We now come to a subject full of difficulties of various kinds: here we need refer only to the topographical problems. This is the story of Saul's pursuit of the asses, 1 Sam. ix, x. It is necessary to understand approximately the route which he followed, though the whole itinerary cannot be laid down as a line on the map.

The starting point was, of course, Saul's paternal home. This is not specified at the beginning of the story (chap. ix, 2), but is several times indicated in the subsequent history as Gibeah, often called Gibeah of Saul. It must have been somewhere in the north of the Benjamite territory, as the first stage of the journey was "through the hill-country of Ephraim" (ix, 4). This rules out *El-Jib*, *Jeba*, and *Tell el-Ful*, all of which have been suggested as the modern equivalents. At the end of the story, however, there is an important indication. The terminus of the journey would probably be the same as the starting point. The terminus was a certain *Gibeah ha-Elohim* (x, 5) where an ecstatic fit seized the king-elect. Here were people to whom he was well known (x, 11), not to mention his uncle (x, 14); and, in short, we can scarcely avoid equating "Gibeah of Saul" with "Gibeah of God." There is confusion enough as it is between the three places, Gibeon, Geba, and Gibeah, and there could hardly have been a *fourth* place, with a name having the same radical letters, to add to the difficulty: only three are mentioned in the very full list of Benjamite towns in Joshua xviii. The village of *Ram Allah*, twelve miles north of Jerusalem, has a name identical in meaning with *Gibeah ha-Elohim*, and satisfies all the geographical requirements. It has been already identified with Gibeah of Saul in G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography*, and the identification seems to me in every way satisfactory.

Passing through the hill country of Ephraim, Saul went through the land of Shalishah (ix, 4), where we completely lose his track. Baal-Shalisha occurs in 2 Kings iv, 42, but the passage gives us no help. The Onomasticon puts it somewhere north-east of Lydda, but everything is vague. His next point, "the land of Shaalim," is equally obscure: probably שְׁעָלִים is a copyist's mistake for שְׁעָלָבִים "Shaalabbim," which, though not to be certainly identified,

is a place somewhere in the neighbourhood of Beth-Shemesh and Aijalon (see Joshua xix, 42; Judges i, 35; 1 Kings iv, 9), *i.e.*, somewhere in the lowland where the valleys open out from the mountains, north of Jerusalem. Then returning to Benjamite territory—presumably up the valley of Aijalon—he arrived at the land of Zuph (ix, 5), where the ground is slightly less slippery beneath us; for the name can hardly be dissociated from Ramathaim-Zophim (1 Sam. i, 1), *i.e.*, “the two Ramahs of the Zuphites.” The land of Zuph must therefore be the district which included Ramah (er-Ram), and, we may guess, the High Place of Mizpeh, the correlation of which with the modern *Naby Samuil* seems less questionable than most traditional identifications.

Here Saul consulted the seer who brought him up to the High Place, and told him of the signs that would testify to his election as king. His itinerary was to be “to Rachel’s Sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah” (x, 2), thence “to the oak of Tabor” (x, 3), and thence to his home at Gibeah ha-Elohim.

If the interview between Saul and Samuel took place at the modern *Naby Samuil*—which seems most probable—and Saul afterwards went home *via* Rachel’s Tomb and Deborah’s Oak, obviously Rachel’s Tomb could not be anywhere near the position indicated by modern tradition. In any case the route followed was not the straightest possible, but it may have been unsafe at the time to take the direct road to Gibeah of Saul (through the modern *El-Jib*) on account of the Philistine domination of the country.

What then is Zelzah (זֶלְזָח)? And how does the border of Benjamin run? To the first of these questions no satisfactory answer can be given. It cannot be emended to Zelah (זֶלַח) for the position of the latter place, so far as the hazy indications in Joshua xviii, 28, permit us to judge at all, was somewhere *west* of Jerusalem. If the word is to be emended so as to make an intelligible place-name, I should prefer *בעלמת* (in Alemeth), which a sleepy scribe might conceivably mutilate to the form in the text. To such a guess, however, the Greek version gives no support. In all probability what was here originally was not a *topographical* indication at all—“by Rachel’s Sepulchre” would in itself be sufficient—but something *descriptive*, analogous to the minute account given by the seer of the group of men to be met later, at the Oak of Tabor. “In the shadow of ———” (something) might perhaps have been the original sense of the passage.

To determine the line of the border of Benjamin, which is of importance for the investigation, we naturally turn to the delimitation of that tribe in Joshua xviii, 12, and subsequent verses. It went from Jordan—by the side of Jericho—up westward (*not* northward) through the hill country—"going out" at the wilderness of Beth-Aven, and thence to Bethel. This means that the current Bible maps assign too great an extent of territory to Benjamin. The northern border, if it ran from Jericho westward, must have come up by the *Wady Kelt* and its upper reach the *Wady Farah*, and then turned northward from the "going out" of the valley in the direction of Bethel. The significant omission of Michmash from the very full list of Benjamite villages, indicates that the corner of land which contains it was most probably out of the Benjamite territory. If so, the line of the Benjamite border would, as nearly as possible, run from Jericho up the valleys till it struck on the old high road whose course we traced at the beginning of this paper, and then would more or less follow the line of that road to Bethel.

VI.

To sum up the argument so far, we have now noted the following points:—

A. The old road from Jerusalem northward passed through Nob, Anathoth, Geba, Michmash, and Bethel.

B. The road to the Jordan followed the same line to Bahurim, the modern *Hizmah*, between Anathoth and Geba, and then turned off down the *Wady Farah*.

C. At or about *Hizmah* the road forked, and there was an alternative route through Ramah, a village close by Geba.

D. Jacob followed this alternative route: Deborah died between Bethel and Ramah, and Rachel died between that point and Ephrath.

E. Rachel's Tomb was at or near Ramah.

F. It was also in the border of Benjamin, which ran up the *Wady Farah* to somewhere about *Hizmah*, and then turned northward along the line of the high road.

Now, at the foot of the hill on which stands *Er-Ram*, a little above the head of the *Wady Farah*, close to *Hizmah*, exactly on the spot where all these lines of evidence seem to converge, stands that extraordinary group of pre-historic monuments known as the *Kabar*

el-Beni Isra'in. They are like walls of dry stone masonry, about 100 ft. long and 15 ft. broad, and about 4 to 6 ft. high. For fuller descriptions, reference may be made to the account in the Survey of Western Palestine; Vincent's *Canaan*, p. 257, gives some further particulars and suggests interesting Egyptian analogies. The accompanying photographs will supplement those descriptions; No. 1 gives a view of the five monuments and their surroundings, taken from a ridge to the south; No. 2 gives a nearer view of one of them, which will give a sufficient idea of the appearance of all.

These mysterious monuments might well give rise to traditions of ancient men and women of renown; they might well be associated in the popular memory with the patriarchs; and I submit that the identification of these monuments with the tradition of Rachel's Sepulchre, first proposed by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau, is the most reasonable and probable theory that can be put forward about them. They are probably not so old as the work of the Dolmen-builders, but there can be little question that they are older than the Israelite immigration. There is nothing in them to suggest a later date, or to indicate a purpose that would be probable after the period of the entrance of the Israelites.

It is safe to say that there is nothing about these structures to suggest a sepulchral monument of the days of Saul.

There *may* be sepulchral caves under the monuments, but no external indication is visible, and personally I should be inclined to question this. In any case they would not be caves with *kōkīm*; such do not appear at all in South Palestine till a date far later than Saul.

PALAEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS FROM PALESTINE.

By PROF. R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

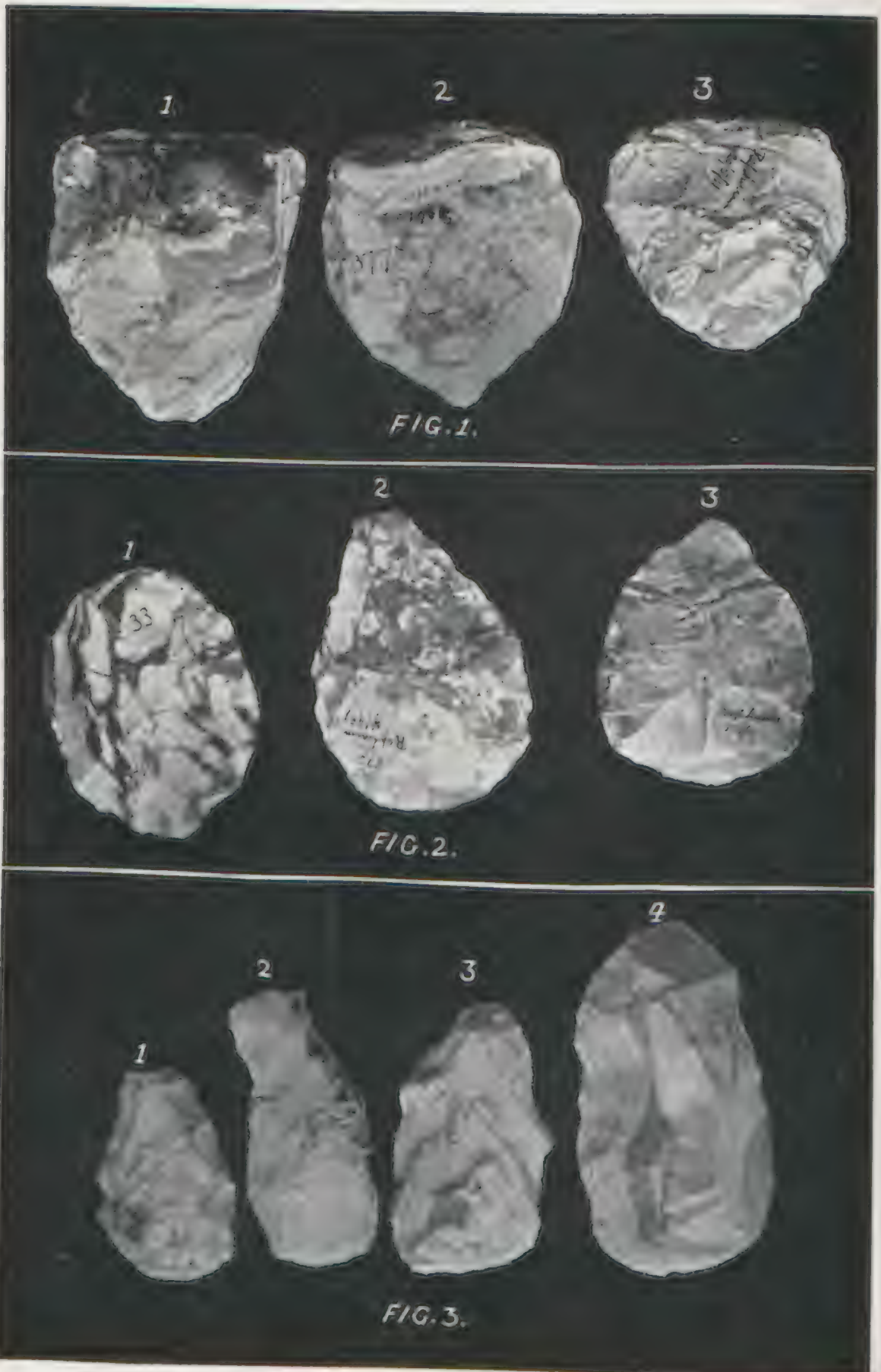
MR. HERBERT CLARK, of Jerusalem, has forwarded a number of photographs of specimens from his great collection of flint implements. This is the second series of photographs which Mr. Clark has sent to the Fund. It was impossible, owing to pressure on the space available, and to the heavy drain then being made by excavation on the resources of the Society, to publish the first series,



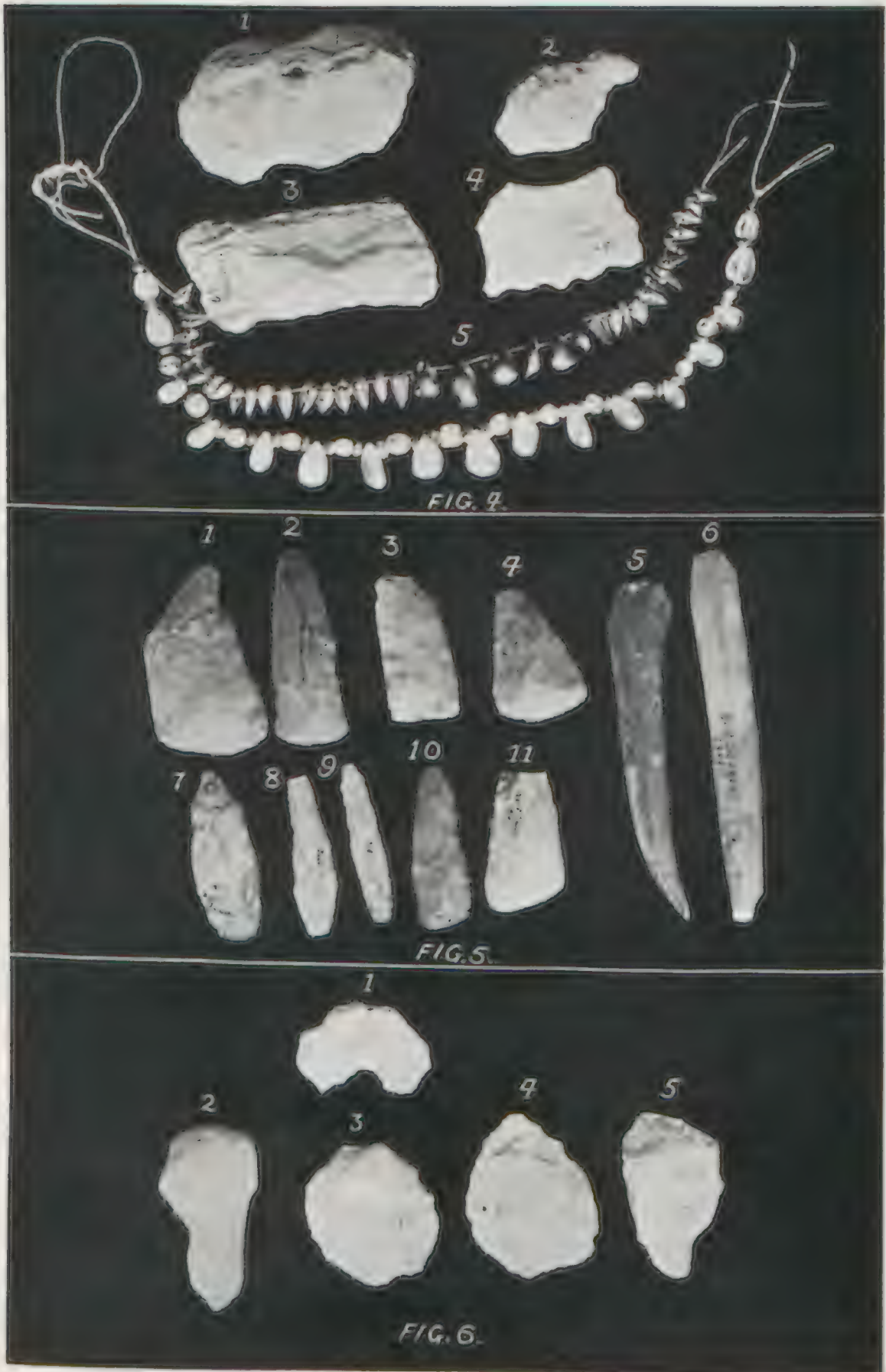
RACHEL'S TOMB. I.



RACHEL'S TOMB. II.



PALESTINIAN PALAEOLITHIC OBJECTS. I.





PALESTINIAN PALAEOLITHIC OBJECTS. III.

which were placed by the Committee of the Fund in the hands of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The second series is now laid before our readers.

The principal source of supply drawn upon by Mr. Clark is the great palaeolithic "floor" of the Plain of Rephaim, south of Jerusalem, where many hundreds of chipped flints have been collected.

Fig. 1 represents three "coups de poing" of Chellean type (the third approaches the more regular Acheulean). They are (so Mr. Clark notes in his accompanying letter) of "Herefordshire pudding stone," and measure respectively, 12 cm. \times 9.5 cm. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.), 12 cm. \times 10 cm. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 4 in.), and 10 cm. \times 10 cm. (4 in. \times 4 in.). The original surface of the stone seems to appear in places on the first two, but the third is chipped all over.

Fig. 2 shows three very fine implements. The first two are very characteristic Acheulean "coups de poing," the rounded oval form of the first being comparable with that of specimens from Saint-Acheul itself. It measures 11.5 cm. \times 9 cm. ($4\frac{9}{16}$ in. \times $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.). The shapely pear-shaped specimen next to it is 13.5 cm. \times 10 cm. ($5\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 4 in.). The third example is a flake, probably of a rather later period; Mr. Clark suggests that it may be transitional from palaeolithic to neolithic, but it would be rather rash to dogmatize about that very nebulous stage of culture. Without seeing *both* sides of the implement, it is impossible to be certain about it, but to me it seems to be an Aurignacian scraper. Mr. Clark's note that it has a "bevel" on one side accords with this description. It measures 11.5 cm. \times 9.5 cm. ($4\frac{9}{16}$ in. \times $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

Fig. 3. Rough flaked scrapers and axeheads, probably rude tools of the early neolithic period. No. 1 measures 10 cm. \times 6 cm. (4 in. \times $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.), No. 2 is 11.5 cm. \times 6.5 cm. ($4\frac{9}{16}$ in. \times $2\frac{9}{16}$ in.), No. 3 is 12 cm. \times 7 cm. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.), and No. 4 is 16 cm. \times 8.5 cm. ($6\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $3\frac{5}{8}$ in.).

Fig. 4. Mr. Clark suggests that the first of the four flints is intentionally chipped into the shape of a camel's head, and the second into that of a field-mouse, and infers that the first proves that the makers of these objects bred camels, and the second that they practised agriculture. The resemblances suggested are probably more apparent in the originals than in the photographs, and in any case I confess to finding a difficulty both in the identification and in the inference drawn from it. Though, from the Solutrian period

onward, palaeolithic man began to model human and animal figures, I do not know of other examples of his using *flint* for the purpose (the specimens which some French observers thought they had found being discredited). And domestication of animals, and agriculture, were both unknown to palaeolithic man elsewhere, and there is hardly sufficient ground for supposing that he was any more advanced in Palestine. The other two flints are a section of a neolithic sickle, 11 cm. \times 5.5 cm. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.), with finely serrated but worn teeth; and a saw, 7 cm. \times 5 cm. ($2\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 2 in.)

The strings of beads are collected from various bronze-age tombs in Palestine, and illustrate the survival of the axe form as an amulet.

Fig. 5. No. 1 is a Magdalenian borer with oblique point, a form, I believe, uncommon in Palestine, measuring 9 cm. \times 5 cm. ($3\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 2 in.). The others are neolithic tools of the indefinite type called by the name "fabricator." Nos. 5, 6, are two fine flakes, such as were made in the first centuries of Semitic occupation in Palestine. These come from Beit Jibrin: the former is 15.5 cm. ($6\frac{1}{8}$ in.) in length, the latter 17.5 cm. ($6\frac{7}{8}$ in.).

Fig. 6. Scrapers, one of them (No. 1) a hollow scraper, 6 cm. \times 3 cm. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.), from El-Jib. They seem from the photograph to be highly patinated, which would suggest a high antiquity, but otherwise it is impossible to assign these rude tools to any definite period. They are described by Mr. Clark as made of water-worn chert pebbles.

Fig. 7. Well made neolithic chisels of cherty flint (Figs. 1, 2, 6, 7) and fabricators (Figs. 3, 4, 5) from various places north of Jerusalem. The largest, No. 4, is 13 cm. ($5\frac{1}{8}$ in.) long and 1.5 cm. ($\frac{9}{16}$ in.) broad.

A GREEK INSCRIPTION FROM THE DECAPOLIS.

By THE REV. D. LEE PITCAIRN, M.A.

TOWARDS the end of last year (1911), a rock-hewn tomb was discovered at Beit Rās, which has been identified with the ancient Capitolias. It contained "about a dozen troughs, hewn in the soft rock, with a few bones in them." The objects of glass, etc., of Roman date, were taken possession of by the Turkish officials as soon as they heard of the find. The inscription remains, cut in relief in very clear Greek letters, on the lintel of the tomb.

Miss A. M. Elenson, of the Church Missionary Society, residing at El-Husn, visited the place on December 11, and has sent me the above brief report, with a copy of the inscription :

ΓΑΙΟΥΣΙΔΩ
ΛΙΟΥΣΙΔΩ
ΡΟΕΑΥΤΩ
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

Γάϊος Ἰού
λιος Ἰσίδω
ρος ἑαυτῷ
ἐποίησεν

"Caius Julius Isidorus
made it for himself."

The shape of some of the letters is peculiar. The Ε, C, O and ω are squared for the convenience of the stone-cutter. It seems curious that the letter ω, Omega, should occur in two different forms, in two consecutive lines, at the end of the second and at the end of the third.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT TIBERIAS, 1910.

By ELIAS K. BISIT.

JANUARY.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.				At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Wind.		Clouds.	Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Barometer.		Thermometer.		Barometer.		Thermometer.		Dir.	Force.			
		Alt.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.	Min.	Dir.	Force.	Alt.						Dry.	Wet.
S.	1	30.840	61	60	68	49	1	E.	...	...	...	1	...	1 6
S.	2	30.900	62	62	70	50	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	...
M.	3	30.830	62	61	70	52	4	...	...	...	...	8	...	...
T.	4	30.590	61	60	70	50	10	E.	...	...	...	4	...	...
W.	5	30.450	60	56	62	40	10	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
Th.	6	30.550	59	55	58	43	10	S.	...	...	...	3	...	...
F.	7	30.520	60	57	60	40	10	W.	...	...	...	10	...	...
S.	8	30.904	60	58	63	42	10	...	...	...	...	5	...	...
S.	9	30.870	60	58	62	43	10	...	...	...	...	5	...	...
M.	10	31.032	58	53	63	40	5	S.	...	...	...	0	...	...
T.	11	31.148	55	50	63	35	...	N.	...	...	...	0	...	...
W.	12	31.250	53	48	60	30	...	...	...	...	...	0	...	...
Th.	13	31.200	52	50	55	32	...	E.	...	...	...	0	...	...
F.	14	31.036	58	56	60	35	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1 5 1
S.	15	30.902	60	60	65	43	10	...	...	...	...	8	...	...
S.	16	30.756	60	58	65	40	5	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
M.	17	30.640	58	55	65	48	10	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
T.	18	30.628	58	50	60	44	10	S.	...	...	...	10	...	...
W.	19	30.568	60	58	58	51	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
Th.	20	31.060	58	58	60	45	10	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
F.	21	31.138	60	60	63	45	5	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
S.	22	31.100	60	58	63	43	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
S.	23	31.050	60	58	68	43	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
M.	24	31.070	58	56	62	40	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
T.	25	31.012	58	58	68	40	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
W.	26	31.082	60	60	62	42	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Th.	27	31.044	60	62	63	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
F.	28	31.110	58	58	69	40
F.	29	31.070	58	58	65	40
S.	30	31.100	60	60	63	42
M.	31	31.152	60	55	63	42	2

Total 7.78

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FEBRUARY.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.					Clouds.	Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Wind.	Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Thermometer.						Barometer.								
		Air.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.	Min.		Air.	Dry.	Wet.	Dir.	Force.	Dir.				Force.
T.	1	31.100	60	59	68	40	...	...	...	31.080	63	62	53	...	...	1 4½
W.	2	31.099	62	61	72	43	...	...	...	31.050	65	64	56	...	...	...
Th.	3	31.100	62	62	72	45	...	...	...	31.044	65	65	54	...	...	...
F.	4	30.998	72	72	73	50	E.	...	1	30.852	70	72	60	...	...	0.15
S.	5	31.012	65	68	77	49	...	...	...	30.884	70	70	60	...	...	...
S.	6	30.770	65	68	78	50	...	...	...	30.750	70	70	58	...	...	...
M.	7	30.780	68	68	78	50	...	...	...	30.801	68	68	58	...	...	...
T.	8	30.826	63	60	75	48	...	...	...	30.804	68	65	53	...	...	...
W.	9	30.900	63	60	70	42	...	...	...	30.850	68	66	53	...	...	0.10
Th.	10	31.100	62	62	72	42	...	...	...	31.018	70	66	58	...	...	0.50
F.	11	31.050	62	62	68	42	...	...	...	30.904	70	72	60	...	...	...
S.	12	30.950	65	63	65	43	...	...	...	30.800	70	68	62	...	...	...
S.	13	30.780	63	62	72	48	...	...	...	30.838	70	72	53	...	...	...
M.	14	31.038	65	60	68	42	3	...	...	31.010	65	62	56	...	...	...
T.	15	31.090	62	60	65	42	1	...	...	30.986	65	62	56	...	...	...
W.	16	30.940	67	67	70	47	E.	...	1	30.850	68	68	60	...	...	...
Th.	17	30.952	65	60	72	50	...	...	...	30.952	65	65	58	...	...	...
F.	18	31.090	61	59	65	42	...	...	...	30.980	65	65	57	...	...	...
S.	19	30.870	62	59	70	42	...	W.	1	30.850	66	64	56	...	1	0.60
S.	20	30.980	60	58	65	42	10	...	...	30.860	65	65	56	...	...	0.75
M.	21	31.086	60	58	60	40	8	...	...	31.062	66	65	56	...	1	...
T.	22	31.150	58	58	62	38	...	...	...	31.090	68	68	58	...	...	...
W.	23	31.078	62	58	68	45	...	E.	1	30.956	68	68	58	...	...	...
Th.	24	30.935	65	65	70	45	...	E.	1	30.812	70	68	58	...	...	...
F.	25	30.940	63	62	70	45	...	E.	5	30.880	68	68	55	...	...	...
S.	26	31.010	62	60	65	45	3	E.	3	30.980	68	68	55	...	...	...
S.	27	31.151	62	62	63	45	...	...	...	31.120	68	66	55	...	...	...
M.	28	31.051	62	60	65	42	...	...	...	30.958	68	68	58	...	...	...
Mean		30.99516	62.9	61.9	68.9	43.7			Mean	30.92521	62.9	62.9	53	Total 2.20		

MARCH.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.					Clouds.		Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Clouds.	Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Thermometer.					10	Dir.	Force.	Barometer.	Thermometer.			Dir.		Force.			
		Att.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.	Min.					Att.	Dry.	Wet.						
T.	1	31.048	62	63	70	40	...	...	...	...	30.920	68	72	60	...	...	...	...	1 3
W.	2	31.041	64	65	75	45	...	...	...	...	30.776	68	68	58	...	...	...	...	...
Th.	3	30.916	61	63	75	44	5	...	...	...	30.876	65	68	58	5	W.	2	0.22	...
F.	4	31.153	62	64	70	44	10	...	...	...	30.932	64	64	56	8	...	...	0.10	...
S.	5	31.040	61	64	66	42	10	...	...	...	30.992	64	62	55	10	...	...	...	...
S.	6	31.014	61	65	74	42	2	...	...	...	30.900	64	61	55	5	N.	1	...	...
Mo.	7	30.960	61	69	85	42	8	...	...	...	30.920	65	62	55	10	...	...	...	...
T.	8	30.740	62	64	70	45	10	...	...	...	30.580	65	64	56	10	...	...	...	...
W.	9	30.770	62	66	70	45	8	...	...	...	30.740	65	63	54	6	...	...	few drops of rain in the morning.	...
Th.	10	30.908	62	66	74	42	...	S.	...	...	30.974	60	54	45	8	...	...	...	...
F.	11	31.070	65	69	65	35	...	S.	...	...	30.990	60	60	50	6	S.	2	0.50	...
S.	12	30.950	65	69	65	35	10	S.	...	...	30.992	58	52	45	6	S.	2	0.20	Mt. Hermon and Eastern Hills are covered with snow.
S.	13	31.050	63	68	75	34	5	N.	...	...	31.068	56	53	45	4	N.	2	0.30	...
Mo.	14	31.100	63	69	80	32	...	...	...	...	31.150	58	58	48	10	...	...	0.20	...
T.	15	31.200	63	68	85	32	...	...	...	...	31.170	65	60	50	...	...	...	...	1 24
W.	16	31.200	58	68	70	38	...	...	...	...	31.100	64	65	54	...	...	...	...	...
Th.	17	31.150	68	68	68	40	...	...	...	...	31.094	64	65	55	2	...	...	...	...
F.	18	31.070	62	62	67	40	...	...	...	...	30.942	68	68	58	4	...	...	...	...
S.	19	31.000	62	62	70	45	2	...	...	...	30.890	67	68	58	8	...	...	...	...
S.	20	30.950	63	66	75	43	...	...	...	...	30.850	65	66	57	2	...	...	...	...
T.	21	30.900	61	68	74	42	10	...	...	...	30.822	63	62	53	10	...	...	...	...
W.	22	30.908	62	62	74	45	10	...	...	...	30.420	64	68	60	10	W.	2	0.30	...
Th.	23	30.438	62	68	75	48	6	S.	...	...	30.388	68	68	59	10	...	...	...	...
F.	24	30.550	62	71	80	43	10	S.	...	...	30.450	61	58	54	10	...	...	1.50	...
S.	25	30.754	61	70	86	43	5	S.	...	...	30.620	62	58	53	10	...	...	0.70	...
S.	26	30.754	62	75	75	48	8	S.	...	...	30.778	65	65	55	10	...	...	...	...
Mo.	27	30.792	62	76	80	48	10	S.	...	...	30.900	62	58	54	10	S.	2	0.50	...
T.	28	31.028	66	76	92	40	6	...	...	...	30.980	65	63	54	2	...	...	0.60	...
W.	29	31.008	66	78	95	40	10	...	...	...	30.988	65	63	54	2	...	...	0.15	...
Th.	31	31.110	66	74	83	40	...	...	...	...	31.050	64	65	55	1	...	...	0.18	...
Mean 31 days		62	67	72	76	41	...	...	...	...	30.881	63	63	57	...	...	...	Total	5.45

APRIL.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.				Clouds.	Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Cloud.	Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.		
		Thermometer.					Dir.	Force.	Barometer.	Thermometer.				Dir.	Force.				
		Att.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.					Min.	to	Att.						Dry.	Wet.	to
F.	1	31.096	63	64	55	68	43	...	...	...	1	...	30.956	75	75	63	...	...	0 8
S.	2	31.012	68	70	60	80	48	E.	...	...	...	...	30.970	73	78	65	...	...
S.	3	31.052	66	68	58	80	48	...	...	...	...	...	30.990	77	77	67	...	...
T.	4	31.050	67	66	56	75	48	...	...	...	...	...	31.010	72	72	63	...	...
W.	5	31.072	71	68	56	75	55	E.	...	...	...	...	30.930	78	82	68	...	...
Th.	6	30.960	71	71	65	85	56	E.	1	...	...	...	30.842	80	83	70	...	...
F.	7	30.846	73	77	65	92	60	...	...	...	...	...	30.750	81	83	73	...	W.	2
S.	8	30.868	73	73	65	90	56	...	...	...	...	...	30.840	81	88	68	...	...
S.	9	30.830	73	71	65	85	53	...	...	...	...	...	30.624	82	88	78	...	...
S.	10	30.810	75	73	66	95	62	...	...	...	...	...	30.806	80	82	70	...	...
M.	11	30.970	70	68	62	75	50	...	...	...	...	...	30.918	76	78	66	...	...
T.	12	30.900	68	68	62	77	57	...	...	...	...	...	30.806	70	73	65	...	W.	3
W.	13	30.800	68	68	60	80	48	...	...	...	...	...	30.872	73	73	68	...	...
Th.	14	31.060	68	65	59	77	45	...	...	...	...	...	30.900	73	74	62	...	...	0 4½
F.	15	31.030	68	65	58	72	45	...	...	...	...	...	30.920	73	74	80	...	...
S.	16	30.950	75	80	65	83	55	...	...	...	...	...	30.842	81	90	72	...	...
S.	17	30.900	78	82	65	92	60	...	...	...	...	...	30.788	85	85	72	...	...
M.	18	30.798	75	78	66	95	58	...	...	...	...	...	30.820	78	78	69	...	W.	4
T.	19	30.928	71	70	62	88	52	...	...	...	...	...	30.900	80	81	70	...	W.	2
W.	20	30.822	70	70	62	75	44	...	...	...	...	...	30.720	78	80	65	...	W.	2
Th.	21	30.760	70	63	58	82	48	...	...	...	...	...	30.690	80	80	65	...	...
F.	22	30.700	70	65	58	75	50	...	...	...	...	...	30.700	75	65	58	...	...
S.	23	30.830	67	65	58	63	50	...	...	...	...	...	20.610	90	90	62	...	...
S.	24	30.972	67	68	60	73	43	...	...	...	...	...	30.928	75	72	60	...	...
M.	25	30.930	68	65	58	75	48	...	...	...	...	...	30.808	74	74	65	...	...
T.	26	30.926	70	70	65	75	50	W.	2	...	...	...	30.890	75	75	70	...	W.	2
W.	27	30.922	68	64	60	80	48	...	...	...	...	...	30.860	78	80	72	...	W.	1
Th.	28	30.960	68	65	62	80	50	...	...	...	...	...	30.906	77	75	70	...	...
F.	29	31.002	70	63	60	83	50	...	...	...	...	...	30.900	75	78	72	...	...
S.	30	31.020	72	73	60	80	51	...	...	...	...	...	30.960	76	78	73	...	...
Mean		30.922	70.6	69.6	60.4	77.1	51.3			Mean	30.856*	77.1	72.1			Total	0.67		

JUNE.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.					Clouds.	Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Thermometer.						Dir.	Force.	Thermometer.				Dir.	Force.		
		Baromet.	Air.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.				Min.	Baromet.	Air.	Dry.				
W.	1	30.750	80	87	68	94	70	..	W.	2	30.698	82	101	72	..	W.	0.04
Th.	2	30.770	82	82	68	100	68	W.	1	30.770	80	80	68	..	..	..
F.	3	30.840	75	74	65	93	53	2	..	30.742	80	81	66	..	W.	..	
S.	4	30.820	75	74	66	89	55	3	..	30.812	80	82	66	..	W.	..	
S.	5	30.878	78	76	65	87	55	4	..	30.870	80	80	70	10	W.	..	
M.	6	30.998	78	77	66	88	58	..	..	30.930	80	80	68	..	W.	..
T.	7	30.960	79	79	70	94	55	..	..	30.862	80	80	68	..	W.	..
W.	8	30.870	81	80	68	102	62	3	1	30.850	80	86	66	..	W.	..	
Th.	9	30.870	80	78	65	94	61	10	4	30.850	80	84	64	..	W.	..	
F.	10	30.890	78	76	68	90	62	8	..	30.810	80	87	62	..	W.	..	
S.	11	30.850	78	78	68	89	60	..	..	30.840	80	80	60	..	W.	..
S.	12	30.840	81	83	66	92	63	2	1	30.810	80	87	65	..	W.	..	
M.	13	30.852	80	82	70	88	62	4	1	30.820	80	85	70	..	W.	..	
T.	14	30.900	80	80	72	91	60	..	..	30.800	80	80	78	1	W.	..
W.	15	30.870	82	83	70	98	62	..	..	30.870	80	80	70	..	W.	..
Th.	16	30.856	84	83	70	103	60	..	..	30.828	80	84	70	..	W.	..
F.	17	30.850	84	84	70	100	70	..	..	30.830	82	84	75	..	W.	..
S.	18	30.750	85	85	70	101	70	2	1	30.748	83	83	68	..	W.	..	
S.	19	30.800	82	83	70	99	66	..	..	30.750	85	85	68	..	W.	..
M.	20	30.830	81	81	70	91	63	..	..	30.780	80	80	64	..	W.	..
T.	21	30.802	81	78	70	82	63	..	..	30.760	80	80	70	..	W.	..
W.	22	30.850	80	80	70	95	60	..	..	30.742	80	83	70	..	W.	..
Th.	23	30.800	80	80	70	92	62	..	..	30.772	80	82	68	..	W.	..
F.	24	30.808	81	82	69	100	68	..	..	30.808	84	88	61	..	W.	..
S.	25	30.808	82	80	70	100	61	..	..	30.800	85	88	62	..	W.	..
S.	26	30.738	85	82	70	103	65	..	..	30.740	83	85	64	..	W.	..
M.	27	30.780	85	83	72	95	67	..	..	30.720	82	85	66	..	W.	..
T.	28	30.800	85	83	70	95	65	..	..	30.720	80	85	66	..	W.	..
W.	29	30.740	82	81	70	100	64	..	..	30.698	82	82	70	..	W.	..
Th.	30	30.800	82	86	76	100	62	..	..	30.610	80	80	78	..	W.	..
Mean	30.770	81.6	81.6	70.0	95.0	61.0	Mean	30.770	81.6	81.6	70.0	81.6					

JULY.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.				Wind.	At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.	Thermometer.		Cloud.	Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.		
		Thermometer.						Barometer.	Humidity.		Dir.	Force.				
		Att.	Dry.	Wet.	Min.											
F.	1	30.675	70	82	68	E.	1	30.616	92	76	...	W.	2	1 9		
S.	2	30.660	70	82	68	E.	1	30.634	92	78	...	W.	2			
T.	3	30.700	70	82	68	E.	1	30.664	92	78	...	W.	2			
W.	4	30.788	70	84	68	E.	1	30.680	93	81	...	W.	2			
Th.	5	30.748	70	85	68	E.	1	30.692	93	80	...	W.	2			
F.	6	30.758	78	88	68	...	...	30.778	93	82	...	W.	2	
S.	7	30.758	82	89	67	...	...	30.732	92	80	...	W.	2	
Th.	8	30.842	10	97	61	...	...	30.776	93	86	...	W.	2	
F.	9	30.820	10	97	61	...	...	30.710	92	86	...	W.	2	
S.	10	30.790	72	97	64	...	...	30.760	91	89	...	W.	2	
Th.	11	30.772	73	97	64	...	...	30.718	93	91	...	W.	2	
F.	12	30.831	78	98	68	...	...	30.774	91	92	...	W.	2	
S.	13	30.822	79	98	68	...	...	30.732	92	89	...	W.	2	
Th.	14	30.684	73	97	68	E.	2	30.834	91	90	...	W.	2			
F.	15	30.878	75	97	68	E.	1	30.864	94	91	...	W.	2			
S.	16	30.874	76	98	68	E.	1	30.760	93	91	...	W.	2			
Th.	17	30.814	70	96	68	...	...	30.742	91	90	...	W.	2	
F.	18	30.866	76	98	68	...	...	30.812	97	97	...	W.	2	
S.	19	30.760	77	97	69	E.	1	30.800	96	94	...	W.	2			
Th.	20	30.678	77	97	69	...	...	30.610	96	95	...	W.	2	
F.	21	30.932	76	96	70	...	...	30.620	96	95	...	W.	2	
S.	22	30.991	76	97	67	...	...	30.620	97	96	...	W.	2	
Th.	23	30.712	76	94	68	E.	1	30.600	102	100	...	W.	2			
F.	24	30.718	76	96	70	...	...	30.628	100	99	...	W.	2	
S.	25	30.690	76	96	68	...	...	30.610	98	98	...	W.	2	
Th.	26	30.670	76	96	68	...	...	30.610	98	96	...	W.	2	
F.	27	30.700	74	93	68	...	...	30.600	96	94	...	W.	2	
S.	28	30.758	74	96	68	E.	1	30.700	96	91	...	W.	2			
Th.	29	30.708	75	98	68	E.	1	30.600	92	89	...	W.	2			
F.	30	30.686	75	98	68	...	...	30.600	92	89	...	W.	2	
S.	31	30.664	73	98	68	...	...	30.590	93	90	...	W.	2	
Mean	30.730	73	82	88	68	Mean	30.660	93	93	93	Mean	30.660	93	93		

AUGUST.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.				Clouds.		Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Clouds.		Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Thermometer.				10	Dir.	Force.	Thermometer.				10	Dir.	Force.				
		Barometer.	Alt.	Dry.	Wet.				Max.	Min.	Barometer.	Alt.				Dry.	Wet.		
M.	1	30.650	89	72	97	68	2	E.	1	30.620	91	91	76	...	W.	3	...	2	
F.	2	30.718	89	77	101	68	2	E.	1	30.674	93	93	73	...	W.	3	...	...
W.	3	30.660	85	72	101	68	1	E.	1	30.660	93	92	75	...	W.	3	...	...
Th.	4	30.654	85	72	101	68	3	...	...	30.590	97	93	77	...	W.	3	...	...
F.	5	30.664	89	78	102	70	5	...	...	30.600	97	95	76	...	W.	3	...	...
S.	6	30.650	88	72	103	70	3	...	...	30.610	98	98	72	...	W.	4	...	...
M.	7	30.640	87	70	102	68	1	...	...	30.568	97	97	74	...	W.	2	...	...
T.	8	30.634	87	78	102	70	3	...	...	30.590	96	96	73	...	W.	2	...	...
F.	9	30.688	88	72	102	69	6	...	...	30.680	94	94	73	...	W.	2	...	...
M.	10	30.736	89	75	102	70	1	...	...	30.746	93	100	77	...	W.	2	...	...
W.	11	30.738	90	78	101	70	1	...	...	30.746	93	97	77	...	W.	2	...	...
Th.	12	30.738	93	79	100	68	1	...	...	30.746	93	97	78	...	W.	1	...	...
F.	13	32.634	87	73	101	70	...	...	...	30.740	98	96	77	...	W.	2	...	...
S.	14	30.703	89	87	100	73	...	...	...	30.782	97	93	73	...	W.	...	...	3.00
M.	15	30.762	89	86	102	77	...	...	...	30.780	99	98	73	...	...	...	...	...
T.	16	30.760	90	79	101	68	...	...	...	30.676	96	92	75	...	...	...	...	...
F.	17	30.738	91	88	99	76	...	...	...	30.797	95	100	73	...	...	...	...	...
W.	18	30.738	91	88	100	68	...	...	...	30.703	95	98	73	...	...	...	...	...
Th.	19	30.711	94	87	102	67	...	...	...	30.684	95	97	74	...	...	...	...	...
F.	20	30.723	93	73	101	67	...	...	...	30.651	93	98	75	...	...	...	...	...
S.	21	30.768	92	84	100	69	...	...	...	30.690	95	98	72	...	...	...	...	...
M.	22	30.734	97	77	108	66	...	...	...	30.641	101	108	75	...	...	...	...	...
T.	23	30.700	94	109	116	74	1	...	...	30.688	101	112	72	...	...	...	...	...
W.	24	30.720	94	89	108	72	1	...	...	30.712	95	96	67	...	...	...	...	...
Th.	25	30.700	92	83	103	70	...	...	...	30.608	95	87	76	...	...	...	...	...
F.	26	30.716	92	83	99	68	...	...	...	30.660	93	83	73	...	...	...	...	...
S.	27	30.748	91	88	98	64	...	...	...	30.724	92	88	73	...	...	...	...	...
M.	28	30.776	90	87	98	64	...	...	...	30.736	92	93	73	...	...	...	...	...
T.	29	30.618	90	88	98	66	...	...	...	30.682	93	98	73	...	...	...	...	...
W.	30	30.780	90	87	96	68	...	...	...	30.762	92	91	73	...	...	...	...	...
F.	31	30.740	90	84	95	70	2	...	...	30.736	92	97	74	...	...	...	...	...
Mean		30.712	89	79	101	69				Mean	30.670	93	75						

SEPTEMBER.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.				Clouds.		Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.			Clouds.		Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Barometer.		Thermometer.		In.	Force.	Barometer.	Thermometer.		In.	Force.						
		At.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.				Min.	At.			Dry.	Wet.				
Th.	1	30.756	89	77	97	67	...	...	...	30.612	92	88	73	...	...	...
F.	2	30.751	90	75	100	65	...	...	...	30.744	95	96	77	...	...	...
S.	3	30.796	87	77	100	70	...	...	...	30.766	93	89	77	...	...	...
S.	4	30.750	98	75	101	72	...	...	...	30.748	95	84	75	...	...	...
M.	5	30.800	92	75	99	68	...	...	...	30.736	88	85	73	...	W.	3	
T.	6	30.772	92	73	95	67	...	W.	...	30.770	88	84	71	...				
W.	7	30.721	85	73	96	67	...	W.	...	30.758	87	85	72	...				
Th.	8	30.756	93	75	98	68	...	W.	...	30.762	88	86	75	...				
F.	9	30.768	94	75	99	69	...	...	...	30.758	90	84	74	...			
S.	10	30.824	92	75	96	68	...	...	...	30.781	91	83	74	...			
S.	11	30.886	84	73	94	63	...	...	...	30.732	88	83	71	...			
M.	12	30.918	85	73	95	63	...	...	...	30.752	85	85	73	...			
T.	13	30.854	87	73	97	65	...	...	...	30.716	87	97	73	...	W.	1	
W.	14	30.738	93	73	100	72	...	...	...	30.650	95	90	75	...			
Th.	15	30.750	85	70	108	69	...	W.	...	30.740	90	85	70	...				
F.	16	30.852	85	78	94	65	...	...	...	30.850	89	84	72	...			
S.	17	30.768	87	75	95	68	...	...	...	30.750	88	85	74	...	W.	1	
S.	18	30.784	85	76	96	67	...	...	...	30.708	89	84	73	...			
M.	19	30.786	85	77	95	65	...	...	...	30.728	85	83	72	...			
T.	20	30.806	87	78	96	65	...	...	...	30.806	87	81	75	...			
W.	21	30.831	81	77	96	64	...	...	...	30.814	85	79	69	...			
Th.	22	30.926	85	81	91	63	...	W.	...	30.862	84	81	65	...				
F.	23	30.838	84	83	90	65	...	...	...	30.822	88	86	76	...			
S.	24	30.846	85	86	91	67	...	...	...	30.838	89	87	75	...			
S.	25	30.908	84	82	94	61	...	...	...	30.864	82	90	72	...			
M.	26	30.812	85	76	97	65	...	...	...	30.862	84	82	75	...			
T.	27	30.920	85	76	95	62	...	...	...	30.874	96	97	75	...	W.	2	
W.	28	30.924	90	80	100	61	...	...	...	30.834	94	92	79	...	W.	3	
Th.	29	30.892	85	81	100	60	...	...	...	30.780	92	90	75	...	W.	3	
F.	30	30.860	86	80	96	62	...	...	...	30.792	90	88	70	...	W.	1	
Mean		30.821 ²⁶	85	77	96	69				Mean 30.774 ⁶	88	85	72					

OCTOBER.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS AT TIBERIAS, 1910.

95

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.				Clouds.	Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Clouds.	Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Thermometer.					Dir.	Force.	Thermometer.					Dir.	Force.		
		Barometer.	Att.	Dry.	Wet.	Mas.			Max.	Att.	Dry.	Wet.	Fe				
S.	1	30.910	84	78	68	94	62	4	2	...	30.892	83	78	68	2	W.	4 0
S.	2	30.904	85	72	68	90	60	5	2	...	30.894	85	70	68	1	W.	
M.	3	30.900	80	74	66	90	60	...	S.	...	30.812	85	70	68	...		
T.	4	30.900	84	78	70	82	60	...	...	...	30.810	85	75	68	...		
W.	5	30.890	80	74	65	90	60	...	...	...	30.712	85	75	68	...		
Th.	6	30.888	81	81	70	94	61	...	...	...	30.728	85	75	69	2	W.	
F.	7	30.884	82	82	72	97	62	...	...	...	30.728	85	77	72	2	W.	
S.	8	30.880	80	78	70	93	60	...	...	...	30.728	85	77	72	2	W.	
S.	9	30.870	80	80	70	92	60	...	...	...	30.720	87	78	70	...		
M.	10	30.870	80	82	70	94	60	...	...	...	30.841	88	92	70	1	W.	
T.	11	30.864	80	80	72	97	60	...	...	...	30.808	88	87	68	1	W.	
W.	12	30.912	78	76	66	92	78	...	...	...	30.800	88	87	69	...		
Th.	13	30.906	78	78	68	90	58	...	...	...	30.774	87	88	70	...		
F.	14	30.774	78	75	68	90	60	...	S.	1	30.656	84	84	68	2	W.	4 2
S.	15	30.714	78	78	68	88	60	...	S.	1	30.658	87	87	69	...		
S.	16	30.764	78	76	68	88	60	...	...	...	30.660	88	88	70	...		
M.	17	30.824	78	75	68	85	60	...	...	...	30.784	84	86	69	1	W.	
T.	18	30.710	76	76	65	85	60	...	...	...	30.700	84	84	69	...		
W.	19	30.790	85	79	68	89	60	...	...	...	30.680	85	86	70	...		a shower of rain in the morning.
Th.	20	30.890	75	75	66	85	60	...	...	...	30.800	84	84	70	...		
F.	21	30.900	74	74	65	83	53	...	...	...	30.820	88	88	78	...		
S.	22	30.892	74	75	65	83	53	...	...	...	30.814	84	80	75	...		
S.	23	30.900	76	71	69	83	53	...	...	...	30.796	76	76	66	...		
M.	24	30.850	75	73	65	83	53	...	...	...	30.740	76	78	66	...		
T.	25	30.820	76	72	62	83	53	...	...	...	30.776	77	77	66	1	S.	1 drops of rain at night.
W.	26	30.822	74	73	65	80	52	...	...	...	30.772	84	82	67	1	W.	a shower of rain in the morning.
Th.	27	30.800	75	76	65	85	55	...	...	...	30.780	78	78	66	...		
F.	28	30.740	75	74	66	89	50	...	...	...	30.720	83	80	70	...		
S.	29	30.830	74	68	60	80	50	...	...	...	30.700	85	82	70	...		
S.	30	30.868	72	68	60	75	50	...	...	...	30.700	77	77	65	...		
M.	31	30.770	73	71	65	76	52	...	...	...	30.770	75	75	65	...		
Mean	30.830	72	66	66	86	67	57	Mean				75	77	67	Total 0.48		

NOVEMBER.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.						Clouds.	Wind.		At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.				Clouds.	Wind.		Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.
		Thermometer.							Dir.	Force.	Thermometer.					Dir.	Force.		
		Barometer.	Abs.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.	Min.				Barometer.	Abs.	Dry.	Wet.					
T.	1	30.974	70	68	61	76	48	...	...	...	...	30.860	80	82	66	...	...	...	0.85
W.	2	30.950	72	72	62	75	50	...	...	...	...	30.860	78	78	68	...	...	...
Th.	3	30.918	72	72	60	82	53	...	...	...	...	30.850	80	83	65	...	...	...
F.	4	30.890	73	72	60	88	55	...	...	...	...	30.812	80	84	65	...	...	...
S.	5	30.900	73	74	63	86	56	...	...	...	...	30.820	79	83	68	...	...	...
S.	6	30.864	74	75	62	83	53	...	...	...	...	30.790	79	82	65	...	...	...
M.	7	30.850	79	79	65	89	60	...	E.	1	...	30.760	86	92	70	1	...	...
T.	8	30.888	80	78	63	95	65	...	E.	1	...	30.720	82	88	70	2	...	...
W.	9	30.890	75	72	62	95	60	10	...	...	...	30.840	80	88	64	10	...	...
Th.	10	30.840	76	74	64	95	53	16	...	...	...	30.712	82	88	65	1	...	...
F.	11	30.770	77	74	63	90	54	4	...	...	...	30.688	80	85	66	2	...	...	few drops of rain in the morning.
S.	12	30.740	77	73	65	83	60	10	...	...	...	30.728	80	75	65	3	...	...	few drops of rain in the morning.
T.	13	30.874	74	73	65	83	55	2	...	...	...	30.804	78	77	64	3	...	...	few drops of rain in the morning.
M.	14	30.868	74	74	64	88	56	16	...	...	...	30.821	74	76	66	10	...	...	few drops of rain in the morning.
T.	15	30.928	68	63	55	78	45	16	...	...	...	30.920	72	70	58	2	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
W.	16	31.028	68	63	55	73	45	2	E.	1	...	30.982	74	74	58	...	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
Th.	17	30.972	68	65	54	73	50	...	E.	4	...	30.918	73	72	59	...	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
F.	18	30.928	70	70	58	80	50	...	...	...	...	30.920	74	74	60	...	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
S.	19	30.960	68	66	54	78	47	...	...	...	...	30.894	72	74	63	...	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
T.	20	30.916	72	72	58	77	55	2	E.	1	...	30.884	73	74	63	...	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
M.	21	30.906	70	68	60	85	50	...	...	...	...	30.826	72	73	62	...	...	...	few drops of rain early in the morning.
W.	22	30.840	70	65	60	75	52	10	...	...	...	30.800	75	75	64	10	W.	1	...
Th.	23	30.994	68	67	55	80	50	...	...	...	...	30.850	72	72	62	...	...	...	...
F.	24	30.836	70	68	58	73	50	...	...	...	...	30.700	75	78	65	10	...	...	...
S.	25	30.732	62	68	62	80	50	8	...	...	...	30.692	70	65	58	10	W.	4	...
T.	26	30.818	66	63	55	75	44	8	...	...	...	30.854	70	65	55	...	...	...	...
W.	27	30.950	66	62	54	70	40	...	...	...	...	30.890	68	68	55	...	...	...	...
Th.	28	30.854	64	60	50	69	46	...	E.	3	...	30.744	68	65	52	10	E.	4	...
F.	29	30.770	65	68	60	68	46	...	E.	3	...	30.744	62	58	50	10	E.	4	...
S.	30	30.820	68	60	50	70	42	...	...	...	...	30.780	64	64	53	...	...	...	...
Mean		30.860	71	69	59	80.1	49.5					Mean	30.812	79.2	69.2		Total	0.45	

DECEMBER.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	At 8 o'clock a.m., local time.					Clouds.	Wind.	At 4 o'clock p.m., local time.					Clouds.	Wind.	Rain.	Level of the lake below mark.	
		Thermometer.							Barometer.	Thermometer.								
		Atm.	Dry.	Wet.	Max.	Min.				Atm.	Dry.	Wet.						
Th.	1	30.842	62	54	68	40	10	...	30.822	65	54	68	50	10	...	0.25	2 1/2	
F.	2	30.850	64	60	68	39	10	...	30.832	67	56	68	50	10	...	0.34	...	
S.	3	30.863	67	63	68	43	10	...	30.842	67	58	68	50	8	...	0.93	...	
S.	4	30.873	65	68	68	45	2	...	30.812	65	60	70	59	8	...	...	...
M.	5	30.912	62	58	70	45	10	...	30.919	68	57	68	65	2	...	0.54	...	
T.	6	31.038	63	59	68	43	10	S.	30.958	68	56	65	58	3	...	...	...
W.	7	30.964	66	65	65	44	10	S.	30.870	67	65	68	58	10	E.	2	...	
Th.	8	30.894	64	63	68	42	...	...	30.860	68	66	68	58	2	...	...	...
F.	9	30.901	63	62	70	43	2	...	30.884	68	67	68	58	...	...	...	...
F.	10	30.980	60	59	68	42	2	E.	30.890	68	66	66	55	...	...	...	...
S.	11	30.960	60	59	64	43	2	...	30.880	66	67	66	56	...	...	...	...
M.	12	30.950	58	55	58	37	1	...	30.920	64	64	64	53	...	...	...	...
T.	13	30.993	56	55	65	34	...	...	30.990	66	65	65	55	...	...	...	...
W.	14	31.080	56	52	63	38	...	E.	31.020	65	64	64	55	...	E.	3	2 1/4	
Th.	15	31.014	58	55	65	38	...	E.	30.954	65	55	64	50	...	E.	...	...
F.	16	31.022	60	59	65	39	...	E.	30.863	64	50	68	58	...	E.	...	...
S.	17	31.020	63	63	70	48	...	E.	30.970	68	68	68	58	...	E.	...	...
S.	18	30.980	59	53	66	40	...	E.	30.750	68	58	62	42	...	E.	...	...
M.	19	30.820	65	55	65	38	10	...	30.820	65	62	62	52	4	...	0.65	...	
T.	20	31.108	58	55	65	35	...	E.	31.050	62	58	59	52	...	...	...	...
W.	21	31.116	58	55	60	37	...	...	31.030	62	58	54	52	...	...	...	...
Th.	22	31.050	59	56	68	38	...	E.	30.990	65	65	65	54	...	E.	3	...	
F.	23	30.924	60	58	65	42	...	E.	30.853	65	64	64	54	...	E.	...	...
F.	24	30.770	44	42	65	42	...	E.	30.740	61	44	64	54	10	E.	...	...
S.	25	30.878	52	48	67	45	10	...	30.840	65	62	62	55	10	...	0.65	...	
M.	26	30.824	60	55	60	40	8	...	30.820	64	64	64	54	6	S.	0.15	...	
T.	27	30.980	60	58	65	38	...	...	30.908	65	65	65	57	...	...	...	...
W.	28	30.940	61	58	70	45	...	...	30.862	68	65	65	56	...	E.	2	...
Th.	29	30.980	62	62	68	45	2	E.	30.840	66	65	65	57	...	...	...	...
F.	30	30.980	60	62	68	45	...	...	30.838	65	65	65	56	...	...	...	...
S.	31	30.960	61	62	67	42	...	...	30.860	68	66	66	56	...	E.	1	...
		Mean 30.9443	57.52	51.15	69	41		Mean 30.8777	65.69				3.45		Total 2.48			

NOTES ON GAZA COINS.

By ARCHDEACON DOWLING, Haifa.

THE coinage of Gaza in the fifth and fourth centuries, B.C., has been identified by M. Six, and consists of darics and smaller coins of Attic weight, and of various types.

In Nehemiah vii, 70, the Revised Version of the Old Testament reads thus: "The Tirshatha gave to the treasury a thousand darics of gold," whereas the Authorized Version has: "A thousand drams of gold."

The gold daric and singlos (silver shekel) are the first coins that can possibly have had legal currency in Palestine.

In the second half of the fifth century, B.C., the wealthy commercial cities on the Mediterranean Seaboard had begun to issue silver money under their native kings. The great maritime city of Gaza was among the principal trade centres of this period.

The influence of Athens at this date is strikingly shown by the coins of Gaza, which not only imitate the type and legend of the Athenian coins, but are struck on the Attic standard.

After the capture of Gaza by Alexander the Great, 332 B.C., regal coins were struck there with the frequent monogram, $\overline{\Gamma A}$, both under Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), 285-246 B.C., and Ptolemy III (Euergetes I), 246-221 B.C., and Demetrius I (Soter, of Syria), 162-150 B.C.

The autonomous bronze money of Gaza dates from an era commencing 61 B.C.

The Imperial coins of Gaza, from Augustus to Gordian, bear two different sets of dates: the first Gaza era beginning 61 B.C., the second beginning A.D. 129. The second era probably commemorates the visit of Hadrian to Gaza. On some of the coins these two eras appear concurrently.

These Imperial coins, with the inscriptions $\Gamma A Z A I \Omega N$, $\Gamma A Z A$, *etc.*, have usually the addition of the letter Σ , from which

the Swastica, the characteristic mark on many Gaza coins, is derived, the initial representing the divinity Marna. The temple of Marna was called the Marneion.¹

"In the last days of paganism, the great God of Gaza, now known as Marna (our Lord), was regarded as the god of rains, and invoked against famine. That Marna was lineally descended from Dagon is probable, and it is therefore interesting to note that he gave oracles, that he had a circular temple, where he was sometimes worshipped by human sacrifices, that there were wells in the sacred circuit, and that there was also a place of adoration to him, situated, in old Semitic fashion, outside the town. Certain *marmora* in the temple, which might not be approached, especially by women, may, perhaps, be connected with the threshold which the priests of Dagon would not touch with their feet."² 1 Samuel v, 5.

Herod Agrippa I became king of Judaea, A.D. 41, and possessed the entire kingdom of Herod the Great. Among the coins of Agrippa I, under Claudius, Madden,³ reproduces a coin, which probably represents a ceremony taking place in the temple of the god Marna at Gaza. "There were in Gaza eight temples: of the Sun, of Venus, of Apollo, of Proserpine, and of Hecate, that which is called Hieron, or of the priests, that of the Fortune of the Life, called *Τυχαιον*, and that of *Marneion*, which, the citizens said, is the Cretan-born Jupiter, and which they considered more glorious than any other temple in existence."

Dr. Donald Coles, of Haifa, has in his collection an exceptionally interesting Gaza coin of Hadrian, A.D. 130, in excellent condition, re-struck under Simon Bar-cohab, A.D. 132-135. This Hadrian bronze coin is quoted in De Sauley's *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 215, No. 1, and the re-struck coin during the Revolt of the Jews, A.D. 132-135, is reproduced on Plate XV, No. 4, in his *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaique*.

It was not unusual for some of these Simon Bar-cohab coins to be re-struck from those of Ascalon and other current Philistian coinage.

¹ Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 680.

² W. R. Smith, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. "Philistines," pp. 755-6, Vol. XVIII, 9th edition.

³ *Coins of the Jews*, p. 137, No. 2.

Among all the writers in the *Quarterly Statement*, from 1894-1901, on the SWASTICA, or Fylfot, not one of them seems to be aware that the Swastica is constantly found as the distinguishing mint-mark of Gaza, *e.g.*, on Plate XI of *Numismatique de la Palestine*, Gaza coins, there are both the sign 卐 of the *male* Swastica, and the less common 卐 *female* Swastica, revolving in the opposite direction on the reverse of coins of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Plautilla, Lucius Verus, Faasticia Junior and Lucilla, Julia Donna, Geta.

The Swastica is an eastern symbol of the sun, and is occasionally known as the Gammadion, and the mystic Fylfot. The latest idea formed regarding the Swastica is, that it may be a form of the old wheel symbolism, and that it represents the solar system. It is often connected with the sun, as in the Island of Melos, first colonized by Phoenicians. Its great diffusion in Eastern Asia is due to its being a Buddhist emblem—"the wheel of the law."

In the catacombs of Rome it is also known on the tunic of the Good Shepherd, and on the garments of the Fossiones, a class of men employed in the offices of Christian sepulture, and in opening fresh graves and catacombs.

The Triskelia, or Three Legs of the Isle of Man, and some Syracuse coins in the reign of Agathocles, 317-289 B.C., and other Sicilian towns, are only variants of the Swastica.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Archeology's Solution of Old Testament Puzzles: How Pick and Spade are Answering the Destructive Criticism of the Bible. By the Rev. John Urquhart, Philadelphia. The Sunday School Times Company. 1906. (\$1.25 net.)

THIS small book, of some sixty pages, being—as stated on the title-page—"the Essay for which 'The Gunning Prize' was awarded by the Victoria Institute of Great Britain," may be taken as a useful little handbook for the ordinary reader of the Bible who desires to know something of the effects of modern excavations on

the Old Testament narratives. Its brevity—for it is but an “essay”—precludes attempt at sustained argument; but, in a broad way, and using limited instances, the writer does much to show how far from “destructive” are the results of spade-work in Palestine and the East. The date of publication has deprived the author of the use of the Palestine Exploration Fund’s most recent discoveries at Gezer and in that neighbourhood.

J. D. C.

The Fifth Volume of the *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* of the University of St. Joseph at Beirut contains several matters of interest. M. Noel Giron, of the French Consulate at Mersina, describes two new Hebrew signets. The first is a perforated cone, executed in hard stone of a purple colour. The inscription is divided by the usual two lines, and reads:—

לְבִידֵאל
בֶּן תַּמְכָּאל

“of Beyed-El, son of ‘Thamak-El.” These two names are already known from Aramaic gems (*C.I.S.* II, No. 76, Pl. V; No. 94, Pl. VI), but in the present case the seal must certainly be Hebrew (or Phoenician) on account of the form *ben* for “son” instead of the Aramaic *bar*. It will thus tend to confirm the reading of the name “Thamak-El” upon a broken Hebrew signet given by Dr. Bliss in *Excavations in Palestine*.

The second seal is the property of Mr. H. Marcopoli, of Aleppo. It is of the common oval shape, slightly convex on the face, and pierced longitudinally. The inscription is divided by two lines; and the stone is of hematite. But the names upon it will be startling in their familiarity, for they are:—

לְיִשְׁעִיָּהוּ
חִלְקִיָּהוּ

“of Isaiah (son of) Hilkiyah” (!) The engraving is well executed, and the forms of the letters are the same as those in the Siloam Inscription.

M. Giron also publishes a bas-relief recently discovered at Orfa, in the Palmyrene style; but bearing a very early inscription in the Etruscan character. “Behold the effigy of Kimai, the daughter of

Arkû. Made for her by Abdallat, son of Kûzâ. Alas!" The names are distinctly pagan, and the monument cannot be later than about 250 A.D. : but it is curious to see that the lines of the Syriac are arranged *vertically* and not horizontally. This is frequently seen in old Syriac illuminations, where the upright lines of characters standing against the figures give a Chinese or Japanese appearance to the drawings ; and it is interesting to observe that even at the early date of this monument from Orfa, the method of writing the lines vertically was so well recognised that it could be used in a semi-public memorial.

Father H. Wilbers, of Maastricht, has a long and suggestive note upon the figures, or similes, from agricultural operations contained in Isaiah xxviii, 27 and 28, and Amos ii, 13 ; ix, 9. He greatly improves the passage in Isaiah by substituting פֶּרְסָיו for פֶּרְשָׁיו ("his hoofs" for "his horses"). The emendation is a very probable one, for it is hardly likely that such a rare and valuable animal as a horse would be used by a simple farmer in Palestine. The hoof of any other animal would serve equally well. The Vulgate skilfully suggests the same thing by the rendering *ungula*.

The English Version of Amos ii, 13, makes the prophet speak of a cart full of sheaves. This, again, is a difficulty to any one acquainted with the actual operations of Palestinian farming. Carts are little used nowadays for carrying the harvest, and they must have been even rarer in antiquity. Therefore, Father Wilbers suggests that the reference is more likely to the threshing-wain, or sled with sharp stones on the bottom, which is driven over the grain. He would, therefore, render the verse : "Behold I will crush your under parts, as the weighted sled crushes the straw" ; and he supports this by a number of arguments too lengthy to be repeated here.

In Amos ix, 9, Father Wilbers would give to צֶרֶר the significance of "pebble" ; and he would see an allusion to the preliminary sifting of the wheat, when a riddle is used that will pass the grains of corn, but will retain the stones and clods. "For lo, I will command, and will toss the House of Israel among all the Nations, as a pebble is tossed in a sieve without falling to earth." This is certainly more vivid than the usual rendering, and quite in accordance with the Hebrew idiom.

Father P. Jouon has some notes on Hebrew lexicography which may be recommended to the attention of the Hebraist. For the

rare word **אֶשְׁכָּר** he has a suggestion which is worth consideration. In Jewish Aramaic it has the sense of "ring," and in the two passages where it occurs in the Old Testament (Ezekiel xxvii, 17; and Psalms lxxii, 10) it clearly means something that is to be paid over. Combining these two senses, it is not at all improbable that **אֶשְׁכָּר** is the equivalent of ring-money, such as is figured upon the Egyptian monuments. In Job xlii, 11, all the friends bring a "ring of gold"; and in Gen. xxiv, 22, we have mention of a gold ring of a specified weight. Therefore, the new suggestion has much to recommend it. Previous to the invention of coined money, such rings and ingots were a necessity for commercial transactions; and, in his *Bible Sidelights*, Mr. Macalister describes the "wedge of gold" and disk of gold that he found at Gezer.

E. J. PILCHER.

The Story of Jerusalem. By Col. Sir C. M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., etc. Illustrated by Geneviève Watson. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

This volume is one of the "Mediaeval Town Series," and its contents are grouped into nine chapters with a complete Chronological Table, an Index, and an excellent folding Map. As the author has prefaced, it "is intended to give a *résumé* of the story of Jerusalem from the earliest times to the present day, and to record briefly the vicissitudes through which the city has passed, the sieges from which it has suffered, the many changes of its rulers, and the manner in which it has always revived, no matter how complete has been its desolation."

The reader cannot but be satisfied with the way in which this object has been attained. Packed with the intimate history of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the sequence of stirring events attending in quick succession, up to the taking of the city by the Turks A.D. 1517, followed by comparative quietness, it covers an extraordinary historical area, dealing with the causes of events affecting the city, the sources of which spread far and wide.

Such a mass of matter, recorded in a little volume, must needs be a *résumé*, but one forgets this fact in the clear, smooth-running narrative which gathers interest as it runs.

Many topographical questions are approached from a military standpoint, peculiarly fitting for both subject and author. In Chapter I he adopts the theory of separate sites for Jebus and

Zion, placing Jebus on the northern portion of the western hill bounded on the north by the north-western valley and on the east by the Tyropoeon Valley (see plan). Zion is placed on the generally accepted site on the eastern hill. It is the division of the two which is, at first reading, difficult to agree with, and it is only after careful study of the Old Testament descriptions of the boundaries of Benjamin and Judah and of David's advance on and capture of Zion and Jebus, that the hypothesis becomes acceptable. The author writes: "On the whole, it appears most likely that the summits of both the hills were occupied, probably by members of the same tribe, and strength is given to this presumption by the fact that, at a later period, there were certainly two separate towns on the two hills, and that the word Jerusalem, as originally written, was a word with a dual termination." Referring to the conquest of the cities of the land—which, at the time of apportionment among the tribes was only partial—and the later attempt of the Israelites to subdue Jerusalem, it would appear that "the town on the eastern hill was captured while that on the western hill remained more or less in possession of the inhabitants." In the later attack by David something of the same nature at first presents itself. In the intervening period between the two attacks, the two cities had presumably fallen back into the hands of their original occupiers.

According to the author's theory, David's approach from Hebron encircled the town on the west, and the attack, like all others, was made from the north. He opened his attack against the city of the western hill, Jebus, and failing in this, he then successfully assaulted the Fort of Zion on the eastern hill. From here Joab planned his entry into Jebus, and the gutter, up which he went, therefore must have been either on the northern slope of the north-west valley, or on the eastern slope of the Tyropoeon Valley.

The theory certainly fits the Bible story in a way which is impossible if either of the two hills is chosen as the sites of both Jebus and Zion. This question is argued in detail by the author in the *Quarterly Statements* of 1906, p. 50, and 1907, p. 204, in articles on "The Akra," which he then placed immediately south of the Temple, an opinion which is still held in this volume.

Reasons are given for attributing the building of the second wall to Antipater (49 B.C.), and the author concludes that the line of this wall most probably included the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. With regard to this latter conclusion, it is difficult

to believe that Macarius should have chosen a site in connection with which, one may imagine, there were existing evidences to prove its confirmation impossible—apart from any other question of verity. At the same time, it must be admitted that the site is a difficult point to exclude from the line of an extended fortification to the north, judging from the only available evidence of rock surface contours. The rock levels have, from time to time, been more or less accurately obtained, and have been embodied in a model made by the author—now in the Museum of the Fund.

There is no space here to discuss the later history. The book is a more complete record of the whole story of Jerusalem than has yet appeared in any one volume. The author aptly quotes the old saying, "that a country which is happy has no history." No one can read these pages without realizing the wedded unhappiness and history of Jerusalem.

The illustrations by Lady Watson are delightfully sensitive pen-and-ink sketches of well chosen subjects in and around the city.

A. C. D.

Men and Measures ; a History of Weights and Measures, Ancient and Modern. By Lieutenant-Colonel E. Nicholson, A.M.D., F.I.C. Smith, Elder and Co. 1912. 7s. 6d.

This is an interesting work, which contains a great deal of useful information with regard to Weights and Measures, arranged in a form convenient for reference. It commences with a short history of the subject from early times, and shows how the British measures are the modern representatives of the measures of antiquity. Possibly some of the conclusions at which the author has arrived will not be concurred in by all readers ; but the question is one, as all those who have studied it are aware, upon which there must necessarily be differences of opinion, and it is by a comparison of these differences that perhaps, in the course of time, truth will be reached. Colonel Nicholson deals at considerable length with the cubits, the talents, and ancient measures of capacity, and explains, in clear language, the connection between them. As regards these, it is an advantage to compare his views with those of General Sir C. Warren, as given in the work of the latter, entitled *The Ancient Cubit*, published in 1903, by the Palestine Exploration Fund, which goes over some of the same ground. The author also gives an interesting account of the British system of Weights and

Measures, as well as the systems, past and present, of other countries: and concludes with some excellent chapters on the modern French or Metric measures, in which he deals with the objections to the latter, and shows, from personal observation, how they have failed to supersede the old weights and measures, even in France, although more than a century has passed since their introduction into that country. His remarks upon this subject will be useful to those who are opposed to the attempts made from time to time, but hitherto, fortunately, without success, to compel the inhabitants of the United Kingdom to give up their convenient system of weights and measures, and to adopt one which they do not want.

C. M. W.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

REMOVAL OF THE SOCIETY'S OFFICES.

Subscribers and others are reminded that the Offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund have been established in their new freehold premises, No. 2, **HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.**, and all letters should now be so addressed. Hinde Street leads from the east side of Manchester Square, and No. 2 is next door to Mandeville Place, and on the south side of the street.

The Office and Museum are on the ground floor.

The Forty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on the afternoon of Tuesday, June 11th, at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, London, W. The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London presided, and there was a good attendance. Much interest was shown in the record of the work achieved by the P.E.F., and in the excellent address delivered by the Bishop. An account of the Meeting is given in this issue, to which we refer our readers for a full report of the proceedings.

After some vexatious delays, Dr. Mackenzie was able to start work again at 'Ain Shems on Monday, April 22nd. His old camping ground was sown with corn, and would therefore not be available till after the harvest. He and Mr. Newton were hospitably received in the neighbouring Convent of Beit Gemal. By the time

these lines are published they will be encamped among the stubble. Detailed descriptions of his work since April have been received from Dr. Mackenzie, and a general summary of the results, so far, is included in the report of Sir Charles Watson's remarks at the Annual General Meeting. The excavations show evidence of early Semitic occupation of the site, followed by Philistine influence; but, as far as present evidence goes, from the time of the Jewish monarchy, when some great catastrophe of fire and sword befel the place, Beth-Shemesh, as a walled town, seems to have perished utterly, and the site possibly remained unoccupied until it was chosen by Byzantine Coenobite monks for the erection of their convent. The extent and character of the town walls were ascertained and the South Gate laid bare last season; but presumably there were other gates whose positions are not yet found. Extensive foundations of houses, and much pottery indicating different epochs occur. Dr. Mackenzie will continue the work of excavation during July, but will suspend them by the end of the month, when the district becomes unhealthy.

Sir John Gray Hill sends a photograph of a Jewish inscription upon an ossuary found in a tomb on the Mount of Olives, and close to the tomb in which was discovered the Nicanor inscription, since presented by him to the British Museum (see *Q.S.*, 1903, pp. 93, 125 *sqq.*, 326 *sqq.*; 1905, pp. 253 *sqq.*). He observes: "I have found many tombs on my land, and I believe that from the German Institution, which is on a bed of flint and therefore unsuitable for tombs, up to and including the land of the White Fathers—about a mile—there has been a cemetery in olden times." To the south of the land belonging to the White Fathers, Sir John Hill has cleared out several old cave-dwellings, but signs of a later more civilized settlement are afforded by pieces of tessellated pavement which are scattered about. "There is also a huge olive mill in ruins, the lower part of which weighs, I should think, three or four tons; how it was taken there I cannot understand, as there is no road to the place, and no camel could carry it. There is also a very heavy stone basin to receive the oil, and the stone of both is not of the district, but looks like the stone found in the Hauran." Often, also, round stones such as were used in catapults were found on his land.

Our esteemed correspondent also sends us a reprint of a speech on "The Jews of Jerusalem," delivered by him at the opening of the Palestine Exhibition in Liverpool on June 4th. To this we hope to refer later. In sending it he calls attention to the fact that recent sinkings of shafts for pillars to support shops on the west side of the road entering the Damascus Gate, has shown a depth of about 16 metres to the rock within 20 feet of the city wall. The question is: when was the rock cut down? If before the Crucifixion, the wall from that gate—westwards—cannot have been the third wall, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre cannot be the true site.

Great Fire at Damascus.—It is not so many years since the Great Mosque of Damascus was destroyed by fire (October, 1893). It has since been restored, but much of its ancient interest and beauty then perished. It has now had a narrow escape from a repetition of the disaster. A fire broke out on April 26th in the quarter lying between the Mosque and the Castle. It raged during the night of the 26th and all the following day and night, and destroyed the great Sûk el-Hamidiyeh, the Asrumiyeh, and considerable portions of the "Cloth," the "Silk," and the "Greek" bazaars." The damage done is estimated at forty million francs (£1,600,000). The ruined bazaars were said to be still smouldering many days later. The houses close to the well-known Roman arch, adjoining the Mosque enclosure, were destroyed, and their demolition has exposed that and many of the ancient columns which formed a feature of the approach to the Roman Temple (see map, *Q.S.*, April, 1912). But a few days before the fire, Mr. Newton had been engaged in measuring and verifying the positions of these and other columns connected with this great Temple. These have hitherto, for the most part, been embedded in modern buildings and very partially visible. Since the fire, several of them stand exposed though blackened by smoke and fire. The Rev. J. E. Hanauer has forwarded several photographs, taken amidst the smoke of the débris and the dust of the demolition of tottering walls, which illustrate the exposure of these Roman remains and give some idea of the extent of the destruction. It may be interesting to note that the Great Mosque was first partially destroyed by fire in 1069, and a second time in 1400 by Tamerlane.

Mr. Herbert Clark writes, with reference to his collection of palaeolithic implements (*Q.S.*, April, pp. 82 *sqq.*), that No. 3 in Fig. 2 is flaked and worked on both sides, and is not a scraper but a fine patinated palaeolith; it is sharpened on one side by a bevel. The adze, No. 1, Fig. 3, is neolithic, also with a bevel on one side, the others are bevelled on both sides; the arrangement in Fig. 3 is to show the transition. In Fig. 4, Nos. 3 and 4 are not neolithic, they are palaeoliths, probably late. One is a whole saw, the other a section. In Fig. 5, No. 1 is a broad chisel or celt; the fact that the upper part of No. 1 is broken off probably accounts for the view (p. 84) that it is a borer. In Fig. 7 the objects come also from places south of Jerusalem. Mr. Clark observes that in the course of a recent visit to Knossos he found in the ploughed fields two beautiful ground celts, but no trace of flint.

Mr. Pilcher has written for the *Q.S.* an interesting and valuable monograph on the *Weights of Ancient Palestine*, the first half of which appears in this issue. Apart from the utility of the enquiry from a more academical point of view, the subject is of interest to many, and it will be seen that the weights unearthed in course of excavation are not isolated phenomena, but admit of being brought into association with other branches of archaeology. As, step by step, this investigation of details and correlation of results link up larger bodies of evidence, it is found that we are no longer dealing with data which are apparently of no interest and of merely trifling value, but we are gaining new light upon the vicissitudes of internal conditions in Ancient Palestine which is more immediately helpful to every intelligent student of the Bible.

We print in this issue an account of the cenotaphs of the patriarchs at the cave of Machpelah of special interest on account of the photographs which accompany it. We are indebted to the Editor of the *Northern British-Israel Review* for this permission. The author of the article, the Rev. A. B. Grimaldi, informs us that it is not generally known that an English paper is published weekly in Jerusalem—*The Truth*—now in its third year. We learn from this that a larger harbour at Jaffa, sufficient to accommodate sixty vessels, is on the point of being constructed. We also read that “the Jewish Orthodox Rabbis have issued an encyclical prohibiting Jewish visitors to Palestine from visiting

the Temple area, because, they explain, the curious tourist may unwittingly approach the site of the Holy of Holies, the spot upon which the High Priest alone was allowed to tread." It appears, however, that Jewish pilgrims from Warsaw strongly resented the prohibition, and "a rabbinical anathema has consequently been pronounced upon them." The same issue (May 10th) has a long account of the sacred rock in the Harâm, by the Rev. Mr. Grimaldi.

Archdeacon Dowling, who contributed notes on coins of Gaza in the last issue, has in the press a book entitled *Sketches of Caesarea (Palaestina): Biblical, Mediaeval, Modern. From earliest Caesar to latest Sultan.*

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year just passed, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s. ; unbound, 3s. 6d.

Plaster casts of the raised contour map of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the map is $\frac{1}{25000}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet \times 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted.

Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6*d.* Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1911 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The Rev. G. T. A. Ward has kindly consented to act as Honorary Secretary for Gloucester.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by Mr. George Armstrong, is now ready, price 6s. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1912. Part 3. Weight Standards of Palestine, by E. J. Pilcher ; Part 4. The Lion-headed God of the Mithraic Mysteries, by F. Legge.

University of Liverpool: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. IV, No. 4. Pre-historic Painted Pottery, by T. E. Peet ; A New Royal Hittite Monument from N. Syria, by Dr. Garstang ; The Distribution of Mycenaean Remains and the Homeric Catalogue, by M. S. Thompson.

The London Quarterly Review, April, 1912.

Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, Vol. I, No. 1, March, 1912.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum (Lodge No. 2076), Vol. XXIV, Part 3. Notes on Gnostic Sects and their possible Influence on Freemasonry, by D. F. Ranking, etc.

The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names, by F. C. Burkitt, F.B.A., from the "Proceedings of the British Academy"; Discusses *inter alia* Nazareth, Cana, and other place-names.

A History of Civilization in Palestine, by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1912).

The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom, by the Rev. Adam C. Welch, Theol.D.

The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine, by F. J. Bliss, Ph.D.

Handbook for Palestine and Syria, by Karl Baedeker. Fifth Edition: 1912. Price 14 marks.

The American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. I, 1912.

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Jan.-Feb., 1912.

The Biblical World, March-April, 1912.

Revue Biblique, April, 1912: Neby Samwil, by Proff. Savignac and Abel, etc.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Vol. XXXV, Part 2. The Jerusalem of Burchard of Mount Sion (concluded), by Pastor Ernst Rotermund; The Jewish-Aramaic Papyri and Ostraca from Elephantine and their Meaning for Palestinian Relations, by Prof. Steuernagel; etc.

Palästina: Monatsschrift für die Erschliessung Palästinas, March, 1912.

Palästina-Jahrbuch of the German Evangelical Institute, Jerusalem, 1911.

Al-Mashrik, Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle: April, 1912. History of Silk in Syria, by Mag. Gast. Ducousso; Syria, 1782-1841, by an Eye-witness (from a MS. in the British Museum), by P. L. Malouf, S.J., etc.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, Jan.-Feb., 1912.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1911, fasc. 9 and 10.

See further below pp. 156 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Forty-Seventh Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on Tuesday, June 11th, 1912, the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of London presiding.

The CHAIRMAN called upon the Hon. Secretary (Mr. J. D. Grace), who acknowledged receipt of letters regretting inability to attend from the Bishop of St. Albans, the Master of Trinity, the Dean of Ely, Professor Flinders Petrie, Professor George Adam Smith, Professor Stewart Macalister, Mr. James Melrose, the Rt. Hon. and Rev. The Marquis of Normanby, etc.

The HON. SECRETARY.—I have also to report that the Society is now housed in its own freehold premises, the generous gift of the Treasurer, who not only bought the property, but has, at his own cost, had such alterations and repairs effected as to adapt it for its purpose. The Society will, therefore, in future be relieved from one heavy item of the expenses of management.

Sir CHARLES WATSON, in response to the invitation of the Chairman, moved that the Report and Accounts for the year 1911, already printed and in the hands of Subscribers, be received and adopted. He proceeded:—

The Annual Report of the Executive Committee has been in the hands of all subscribers to the Fund for some time, so that it is not necessary for me to go into details regarding it. A little later I propose to say a few words on the work which is now going on in Palestine, but at the present moment all that is necessary for me to do is to propose the adoption of the Report.

Dr. PERCY WHEELER.—My Lord Bishop, I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution, and I will only just add a few words.

After personal experience of nearly twenty-five years in Palestine and of those who are in close connection with the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, it is a great privilege and a pleasure to be able to say how conscientiously and accurately that work has been carried on all these years, and I am sure that now under the guidance of Dr. Mackenzie and Mr. Newton we hope the work will be carried on in the same energetic way as it has been in the past.

The CHAIRMAN then put the Resolution to the Meeting, and declared it carried unanimously.

The BISHOP OF LONDON.—I see the next item on the Agenda is that the Bishop of London is to say a few words. Well, I may say I made a promise to attend this Meeting in deference to a very earnest request from one who is much respected in Jerusalem, and well known there both for his work and also in connection with this Fund, and that is Dr. Masterman of the London Jews Hospital, which I think Dr. Wheeler knows pretty well, and which I find is looked upon in the East as the best Mission Hospital in the world. I propose in what I have to say not to go into any details as regards what you actually do—on this I am going to listen to Sir Charles Watson—but I thought it might be of interest to those who are present to learn the impressions gained by one who has just recently visited Palestine, and so I pass them on while they are still fresh in my mind. Well, now, people are always saying to me: “Were you not greatly disappointed in the Holy Land?” Let me say frankly that I was not. I think if you go with the idea that going to the Holy Land is going by some mysterious process to make you holy you will be disappointed; or if you imagine you are going to find precisely the country unchanged in which our Lord lived, and dwelt, and taught, well, then, of course, you will be disappointed. But it is foolish, surely, to imagine that you are going to find that. You are going to a land which has been in the course of 2,000 years altered in very many ways. Prof. Macalister points out in his interesting *Record of Excavations in Palestine* that it is not even true to say you are going to see the people exactly as they were in Bible times. You must never forget that the Mohammedan régime has made changes in the life, the character, and the customs of the people of Palestine. So, again, we must always remember that in the process of time modern buildings have been erected. I

confess it was rather a jar when I went to Jerusalem to find such large new buildings there. I ought to have known beforehand, but I cannot forget the enormous Convalescent Home, which no one seemed at present to use, built at the top of the Mount of Olives with a flash light down to Jaffa. It seemed to me to be disfiguring unduly that very ancient site, and it seemed to be of no appreciable good at present. All that, of course, is a little distressing at first. One wants to see the actual hill with olives on it and nothing else at all, but when you have exercised what I call a little historical imagination, to me it is nothing less than entrancing to visit Palestine, and I am very glad I went, and I advise you to take the first opportunity of going to see it for yourselves.

Well now, the first visit after landing which I found to be of the greatest possible interest was a visit to the Temple area. I am a little cautious in what I say, because I have no doubt there are some here who know the whole place better than I do myself. On the other hand, my experience of drawing-room meetings is that you must imagine that the minds of most of your audience is a complete blank on the subject. I began by making a mistake about my audiences at Oxford when I lived in the East of London; I used to assume knowledge in my audience, and imagined they all knew something about Oxford House and the East of London, but I discovered it was safe to assume they knew absolutely nothing, and then I found I made some impression on the audience. Well now, if you have not visited the Temple area you can hardly realize the intense interest of such a visit. There you have the actual site of the Temple, there is no dispute about that. I hope I am not treading on anyone's corns when I say that an exploration carried out, not by our Society, has done a great deal of harm to those who visit the Temple or stay at Jerusalem. I was excluded from seeing the sacred rock because of what I cannot help thinking was an indiscreet attempt to find treasure under the surface, and the consequence was that we were handicapped by the suspicious attitude which was adopted by the authorities. More than that, among the Mohammedans who were present at their prayers, there was distinctly a feeling of hostile suspicion. In one mosque we were being shown the grave where the two murderers of Thomas à Becket were buried, and the two dragomans just lifted the carpet for a moment, when a fanatic rushed towards us as if he imagined that some discredit was being shown to the sacred place and the prophet. That will

just show those who have not visited the place the care with which you must carry on your investigations, and also the extreme care and the reverence you must show to Mohammedans who are at their devotions. A sad thing happened last year when an American girl was shot through the eye by a Mohammedan because he thought she was laughing at him at his prayers. I am sure she was not, but he did not understand the jokes that were passing in the party, and she very nearly lost her life. Still, although one is not allowed to see the sacred rock as thoroughly as one might wish (in consequence of this suspicion), of course we were shown enough to understand what an immense task the Palestine Exploration Fund carried out in the past. We were taken down and shown the probable entrance by which Solomon went into the Temple, right down underneath the surface. It has all been laid bare as far as it can be. We should feel thankful that a body like this should come forward and, during all these years in a quiet way, explore this ancient site and show us what lies underneath modern Jerusalem.

From Jerusalem I went on to Bethlehem, and I think one of the most beautiful things about Bethlehem is that you know you are on the very place where the Lord was born. When you have weighed all that is said about the sites, the one certain thing—and I am sure the experts will agree with me—is that in that cave underneath the ancient Inn you are in one of the certain sites in the history of the world. That old Inn has lasted on as far back as can be traced in local tradition, and I feel there is no doubt at all that our Lord was born in the cave underneath that ancient Inn, and therefore, of course, Bethlehem is a place of most intense interest.

My next expedition was down a long, long valley from Jerusalem to Jericho, and you really have to go down it to realize what it is. It was surprising to me to find Jerusalem 2,500 feet, I think it is, above the sea, a true health resort after the heat of the desert of Egypt. To go down to Jericho 1,400 or 1,500 feet *below* the level of the sea is indeed a great descent. You read of our Lord going from Jerusalem to Jericho, and it gives you some idea of what the journey was, and still more so when you come up again. Starting in the morning at 8 o'clock you do not arrive till four, and that gives you some idea of the tremendous climb our Lord had in His long journeys up and down Palestine. Well, Jericho illustrates what may be done, and what is being done, by the exploration of

Palestine. I had not time to find out what society was doing this, or what society was doing that, but I walked up after bathing in the Dead Sea to see the excavations being carried on in ancient Jericho. Ancient Jericho, as most of you know, is about a mile and a half from modern Jericho, and here, of course, is where the interest comes in. I was very interested to see what was going on in the exploration of ancient Jericho, but it does not seem to me that much has been done at present, at any rate, so far as I could see from my inspection. I do hope we shall have ancient Jericho explored more thoroughly than has yet been done. After this came a long interesting journey up Palestine in a cart without springs, which was built for the German Emperor. In the course of the first day we came to the next site of interest, which was Jacob's Well. I found that three feet had been taken off to fit it into a church. I could not help feeling that the system of building churches over sites had been overdone. Why should the top of Jacob's Well be taken off—the very place where our Lord sat—in order to put it into a church?

We then went on to Shechem, and of all the dirty and filthy towns I have ever seen in this world Shechem is the worst. But of course it is very interesting to see 150 of the ancient Samaritans, all that are left of them, headed by their high priest. I was very glad to find a C.M.S. hospital close by. I went on from there to see what to me was one of the most beautiful excavations I saw in Palestine, and that was the excavation in Samaria. To go up to the lovely site of Samaria and to see the view was a treat, but still more to see the actual lepers' gate and all the columns remaining from the Roman city which succeeded the ancient Samaria. It was worth much to see a thing like that.

Then came a long journey across ploughed fields, which was called the Plain of Sharon. It was a surprise to me to find that you had to drive practically across a place with no road whatever; but the interest of the places at which I stopped on the way made up for the extraordinary jolty character of the drive. I do not know whether you are all aware of the rate at which the Jews are colonizing Palestine. There are 31 colonies, and I visited one thoroughly. I was taken over by a keen Jew, and it is a wonderful thing that these returning Jews, who, I suppose, most of them have lived their lives in cities, should show themselves such good agriculturists as they have done. I went over their wine press, and they are not sorry when there is a bad wine season in France,

because it makes it good for them. Looking at it from a historical point of view, it was most interesting to see the hill-sides studded now with German colonies, and now with Jews. Every little desolate hill-side is being covered with houses as the Jews come back. I had a great reception at Zimmarîn, and was welcomed and shown everything by them.

Then came what to me was one of the most interesting days, that was the visit to Mount Carmel. Thence I went on to Nazareth. I cannot tell you the interest of being received, first, by those who rode out to receive me, and then by a hundred boys singing a hymn of welcome to greet me as I entered Nazareth. The whole scene was of tremendous interest, and the view from the top was one of the things which I shall never forget in my life—it was a wonderful panorama.

Thence past Cana of Galilee we came, after another terribly jolty drive, down to the Sea of Galilee. Well, the Sea of Galilee is unaltered. When you want to follow the Sacred Life I do not know of anything much more lovely than a sail up and down the Lake of Galilee and picturing everything before your eyes. I read Mr. Masterman's delightful monograph and spent a long time at Tell Hûm, and I tried to make up my mind whether it was really the ancient Capernaum. There was a synagogue lying in ruins before your eyes, and you wonder whether that was the synagogue mentioned in the New Testament. It may not be the actual synagogue, but to see it so complete makes you grateful to the explorers who with such patience have revealed it to you. Eventually, past Damaseus and Baalbek, we reached Beyrout. I have only given you a mere sketch of my journey, but it shows you how grateful a visitor who goes to Palestine must be to the work of such an exploration fund as this. It simply lights up the country and gives you an intelligent interest in the journey that nothing else can do.

Then let me say one or two words about exploration itself. It is most difficult work. I saw most exploration at close quarters in Egypt and the Soudan, but during the time I was in Palestine I saw enough of all the exploration work which was going on in the near East to recognize the great difficulty of it. You see first just a great mound—where are you to begin? What are you to start on? You never know what you are going to find. I was present at the excavations of the ancient Meröe and someone said, "We

just want you ; perhaps you can tell us what this is ? ” I looked with an air of amused knowledge, and I said, “ That is probably Candace’s judgment seat, perhaps where she judged the smaller cases. ” They all thought that a very good idea. However, about ten days afterwards I was passing that place, coming back from Khartoum, and a voice called out : “ It was not a judgment seat, Bishop, after all ; it was a bath, we found the pipe next day. ” That illustration shows how difficult it is to know what you are going to find. This work of exploration has been going on in Palestine for years. You ought to read, all of you, this most interesting book by Prof. Macalister on the “ Excavations of Gezer. ” We shall hear presently what Mr. Mackenzie, who has succeeded Prof. Macalister, is doing. Here is a book on Jerusalem by Sir Charles Watson himself, who sits on my right. It is of entrancing interest, I am told ; I am going to study it myself, and I think you should all get a copy of a book like this and study what is being done. Then there is the *Quarterly Statement* which contains particulars of the transactions of the Society and which tells you all that is going on. Now I think I have said enough to show that a work like this has established a claim to our gratitude. Everyone, whatever his religious ideas may be, should get at the truth. You can do nothing against the truth ; nothing can ever contradict truth. You cannot find a bit of truth that contradicts another bit of truth. All we want is to find truth, and when you see the principle upon which the Society is carrying out its work you find it is a search for truth, a turning over of everything by which you can find truth. This, therefore, is a Society which I can heartily commend to your support.

I now ask Canon Dalton to propose the second Resolution.

The Rev. CANON DALTON.—I beg to propose that the following names be added to the General Committee : The Rt. Hon. and Rev. The Marquis of Normanby, Leonard W. King, Esq., M.A. (Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum), Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hon. Gen. Sec. in U.S.A.

The Rev. ARTHUR CARR seconded the Resolution, and it was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. B. H. ALFORD.—I beg to propose that the Executive Committee be re-elected.

The Rev. G. W. HORNER.—I beg to second the Resolution. At the same time I should like to draw the attention of the Meeting to the rather commonplace way in which they have taken the announcement made at the beginning with regard to the gift by one member of that Committee, I refer to the princely munificence of Mr. Walter Morrison in presenting us with freehold premises for our Museum.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, as there are a great many here to-day who are not subscribers—I hope they all mean to become subscribers—and who may not know very much of our work, I have been asked to say a few words as to the objects of the Society. It was forty-seven years ago in June, 1865, that the first public meeting was held. On that occasion the Archbishop of York, Dr. Thomson, was in the chair, and the then Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster (Dr. Arthur Stanley) were among the principal speakers. It was at that meeting decided to constitute the Palestine Exploration Fund to carry out a thorough and careful investigation of the archaeology of Palestine, and it was further decided that the methods by which these objects were to be carried out were the following :

1. That whatever was undertaken should be carried out on scientific principles.
2. That the Society should, as a body, abstain from controversy.
3. That it should not be started, nor should it be conducted, as a religious society.

These principles have always been strictly adhered to, and, in consequence, the Society has had the cordial co-operation of Christians of all denominations, of Jews, and of Mohammedans. With the pick and spade, the theodolite and the measuring line, its explorers investigate and record what actually exists, leaving it to others to draw their conclusions from the discoveries. During the forty-seven years of its existence it has worked steadily and unceasingly, collecting materials for the study of the geography, the archaeology, and history of the Holy Land.

The work was commenced in 1865 with a general reconnaissance of the country from Damascus to Hebron, which was carried out

by the late General Sir Charles Wilson, to whom the Society owes so much, followed by the remarkable explorations conducted by General Sir Charles Warren in Jerusalem, which threw an entirely new light on the topography of the Holy City. It was soon found that it was absolutely necessary that an accurate map of the country should be made, and the survey of Western Palestine was taken in hand in 1872, under the late Colonel Conder, R.E., and was published in 1880, on the scale of one inch to the mile. A further survey of the districts east of the Jordan was commenced and partially carried out, but could not be completed on account of the difficulty of obtaining the necessary permission from the Turkish Government. During the progress of the surveys other explorations were carried out, among which that of Professor Clermont-Ganneau was one of the most important, while the geological survey, conducted by Prof. Hull, was very valuable.

In later years the explorations at Jerusalem were resumed by Dr. F. J. Bliss, and Mr. A. C. Dickie, our present secretary, and in 1890 the examination of the tells, or buried cities of Palestine, was commenced by Prof. Flinders Petrie, with the excavation of Tell el-Hesi, probably the Lachish of the Bible, and the work was continued by Dr. Bliss, who afterwards explored the mounds of Tell es-Safi, Tell Zakariyeh, and Tell el-Judeideh, all of which yielded valuable results. Then, in 1902, Prof. R. A. S. Macalister opened excavations at Gezer, near Ramleh, and continued for seven years. The account of his explorations, which are the most complete ever conducted in the Holy Land, are to be found in the volumes just published by the Society, which give a mass of information bearing on the ancient history of the country.

After the work at Gezer came to an end the Committee decided to take in hand the examination of the mound of 'Ain Shems, believed to be the site of Beth-Shemesh of the Bible, which is near the station of Deir Aban, on the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, and here explorations were commenced last year by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, assisted by Mr. F. Newton. The results of the first year's work are given in the Annual Volume of the Fund, just published, accompanied by some interesting papers respecting work carried out by these gentlemen at Petra, and in the Land of Moab.

At the last Annual Meeting you heard of what had been done up to that time, but since then much has been accomplished, and, by a careful examination of the pottery found on the site, and of the

tombs in the adjacent necropolis, Dr. Mackenzie has been able to arrive at some conclusions with regard to the history of this city, one of considerable importance in ancient times, but which seems to have ceased to exist about the time that King Nebuchadrezzar captured Jerusalem.

It would, of course, be impossible to-day to tell you of all that he has found, or to give the reasons for the conclusions that he has arrived at. This will be printed later for the information of subscribers when his full reports have been received. I should like to read to you an extract from a letter received from him a few days ago in which he sums up the conclusions at which he has arrived as to the probable history of Beth-Shemesh. This letter was written on May 28th, so of course it is very recent. He says:—

“The processes of excavation always starting, as they must do, from the surface, reverse the order of history. But having reached the rock we can start once more at the beginning, and with a complete section of the strata before our eyes, review the general results in their historical order.

“For the purpose of this review it is convenient to divide the history of Beth-Shemesh into three periods.

“First, there is the earliest period, when a Canaanite population in contact with some indigenous race founded the earliest settlement, represented by the deposits next the rock which have a depth of from four to five feet. Fairly high up in this stratum the Semitic (Canaanite) deposits give distinct indications of contact with foreign countries, including Egypt, Cyprus, and the islands of the Aegean archipelago. The Egyptian relations show a strong culminating domination corresponding to the period of the XVIIIth dynasty. During this period it is possible that the worship of the sun was fully established at Beth-Shemesh, and was perhaps under the influence of contact with Egypt. At the end of this epoch, after the break-up of the Cretan civilization, maritime wars interfered with sea communication, and commercial relations with the Aegean islands were broken off. The Aegean pottery found at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt with the famous letters from Palestine, belongs to the last period of the Cretan sea-empire, but it is very significant that there is nothing later that could be assigned to this era of maritime warfare. It is the same in Palestine, the roads of commerce had changed.

“The second stratum at Beth-Shemesh, which is from five to six feet in thickness, is that which contained the painted Philistine pottery. The Canaanite ceramic types are as strongly marked as ever, but the new intrusive influence is there, setting its own stamp on what is native. It is significant that at the levels where the painted Philistine pottery occurs there is not a potsherd of Aegean or Cypriote ware. And yet the

Aegean influence is there under the guise of this native Philistine pottery. But how can we imagine an Aegean and, indeed, a specifically Cretan influence as operative in Palestine at a period when commercial relations with the Aegean appear to have been broken off? The most probable explanation would appear to be that Cretan influence was now working from within through the presence of Cretans on the spot, at Ashdod, Askelon, and Gaza.

"The acme of this second period at Beth-Shemesh may have been in the area of Philistine influence, if not of domination. It was a time when Philistine cities like Askelon and Gaza took up the lost rôle of Crete and established for a time new trade routes in the East Mediterranean. The culmination of this period of Philistine influence may be sought in the era about 1200-1100 B.C.

"In the third stratum, *i.e.*, that nearest to the present surface of the ground, the Canaanite types of pottery maintain their old prominence, but there is no more of the painted Philistine pottery, and the Philistine influence seems to be conspicuous by its absence.

"This was the era of the chamber-tombs with divans of the North-west cemetery at Beth-Shemesh, and the origin of these may have to be sought in the hill country of Judea. The frequent occurrence of the divan form in chamber-tombs of the same period in the uplands of Judea is a significant phenomenon, suggesting that it was from that quarter that it penetrated into the borderlands of Philistia. In upland Palestine the tradition of the divan-tomb survived into Roman times, and the so-called Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem show that it survived to a time when its significance was lost, and when the floor-space between the divans was contracted to a meaningless channel.

"It would seem then that, judging by the pottery found in the upper stratum at Beth-Shemesh, and by the tombs in the North-west necropolis, that there is more than a clue as to the direction from whence came the wave of influence which dominated the city. It came from the highlands of Judah, and the new people were of Israelite race. It may fairly be assumed that the third and last period in the history of Beth-Shemesh was one of Israelite influence and domination, and that it extended from the 11th century to the 8th or 7th century B.C. There is every reason to think that it was the people of Israel who were the victors in the great siege represented by the burnt *débris* of the sacred city of Beth-Shemesh, as we see it encumbering the south gate of the city. They substituted Israelite rule for Philistine, but do not appear to have driven away the Canaanite population of Beth-Shemesh. The people of this latest period seem to have known nothing of a south gate at Beth-Shemesh, and we may conjecture that for some reason, perhaps of policy, the Canaanites of these latter days were not allowed to fortify themselves with any strong walls.

"This condition of affairs may have been the beginning of the end, and it would appear from the evidence on the surface of the ground that, with the closing for the last time of the chamber-tombs in the North-west necropolis, the city of Beth-Shemesh ceased to exist.

"The last era of the city would thus coincide with the period of the kings of Judah, and its final extinction may have fallen in the time of the Assyrian invasions about the 7th century B.C."

After the destruction of the city to which he refers in this letter the place seems to have lain desolate for many centuries, until in Byzantine times a large monastery was founded on the site, of which the ruins still remain, and, underneath which Dr. Mackenzie has found remains belonging to the successive periods, when Beth-Shemesh was in the possession of the Canaanites, the Egyptians, the Philistines, and the Israelites. The history of the Byzantine monastery is at present obscure, but perhaps, in time, some light may be thrown on this also.

It is not alone at Beth-Shemesh that work has been done during the past year. At Damascus the Rev. J. E. Hanauer has made some interesting discoveries with regard to the great temple which formerly stood on the site of the present mosque; and, within the last few days, Mr. Newton has sent home some excellent sketches and plans illustrative of the remains. You have no doubt heard of the great fire which recently occurred at Damascus, destroying a large part of the beautiful bazaars, with property to the extent, it is said, of 40,000,000 francs. The damage done by this fire has brought to light some more fragments of the ancient buildings, and Mr. Hanauer will utilize the opportunity to increase our knowledge of these interesting remains.

On his way back to Jerusalem Mr. Newton made a tour in the Druze district and examined some of the ruins and megalithic monuments with which that region abounds.

The season's work at Beth-Shemesh was commenced on April 22nd. As the camping ground under the olive trees close to the Tell, of which I told you last year, has been under cultivation and could not be made available until the crops had been cut, Dr. Mackenzie established his headquarters at the convent of Beit ej-Jemal, two miles distant, where the brethren received our explorers hospitably until the camping ground was ready for occupation. The work is now proceeding satisfactorily, and the region of the city north of the ancient gate is being carefully

examined. The services of the Turkish Commissioner, Mahomed Effendi Ibrahim, were not available, and his place has been taken by Misbah Effendi, son of the custodian of the so-called Tomb of David at Jerusalem. I trust that this season's work may prove as interesting as that of last year, and I am sure that all present will wish success to Dr. Mackenzie and Mr. Newton in their labours.

Our thanks are also due to Dr. E. W. Masterman, our Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, who has been of the greatest assistance in many ways, and his knowledge of Jerusalem and its people is a very important asset. I regret that Mr. Satow, the British Consul, who has also helped us much, has been ordered to another station, but I understand that his successor, Mr. Macgregor, takes considerable interest in the work of the Society, and feel sure that he will prove a friend, like his predecessors. His Excellency, Khalil Bey, the Director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, continues to give his kind support, and Dr. Mackenzie, who visited Constantinople on his way out, made arrangements with him regarding the explorations. Another important supporter is Surayah Effendi, the Governor of the district in which Beth-Shemesh is situated, who takes much interest in the work.

I trust that the subscribers will be satisfied with the manner in which the Executive Committee are endeavouring to carry out the objects of the Society, but I would like to point out that the most serious difficulty is the want of sufficient funds to meet the cost not only of the explorations, but of publishing the results. Last year we were obliged, as you have seen from the Report, to borrow £500, which was to be regretted, but was necessary in order not to stop the work. May I venture to ask those who are here to-day, not only to assist themselves, but to interest others also? If they would visit the Museum at 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, they would get some idea of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

There is one point I referred to last year and would like to mention again, that is the necessity of establishing a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem—something on the same lines as the French School in the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen, which is so admirably conducted by Father Lagrange and Father Vincent, whose names you all know. It is to be regretted that while England has been the Pioneer in Palestine exploration, this requirement has not yet been supplied.

Mr. WALTER MORRISON.—Ladies and Gentlemen, it now becomes my privilege to perform a very pleasant duty, and that is to ask this Meeting to pass the Resolution: "That the hearty thanks of this Meeting be offered to the Bishop of London for the encouragement given this Society by his kindly presiding over this Meeting."

We have had a Bishop of London presiding over us on previous occasions. At this Meeting we have one who is well known throughout the whole English Church as one of our leading divines, and I am sure he can appreciate this work because, in the first place, he is a divine, and in the second place he has been a traveller in the Holy Land, and has made himself acquainted with the nature of the work that has been done and can appreciate our scientific methods. I should like to point out that we started as a Scientific Exploration Society. The value of the Exploration Fund is that the Society has carried out its work in a systematic way, and we have set an example to many others, to France, Germany, Austria, and the United States; we have shown them the proper way to go to work. It is not merely the collection of things and putting them into museums; but the value of systematic exploration is that you should be able to identify the exact position in which everything has been found. The relative position may be of very great importance indeed. As a general rule it is of great importance to keep the different kinds of antiquity apart as is being done by Dr. Mackenzie and our other explorers. Now I would also point out that we came to our work just in the nick of time. The Bishop of London has told you how all round Jerusalem buildings are being put up. When we began there were large open spaces and we were able to sink shafts 150 feet; and it would now be impossible to do that because of these buildings which are being erected. These mounds are being exploited by local people who have been pressed by different Societies to get them antiquities. Now there is any amount of work to be done, and unfortunately we have experienced a falling-off in our subscriptions. I give my hearty thanks to the Bishop of London for coming and giving us a lift, because I am sure his presence here to-day will be appreciated by the whole body of our subscribers. I have therefore very great pleasure in moving the Resolution.

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution. I am sure everyone here will join with us in a most

cordial vote of thanks to his Lordship for having been so good as to preside over this Meeting to-day. He has many engagements, and it is therefore especially good of him to spare an afternoon to take the Chair here.

The Vote of Thanks having been carried by acclamation,

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, in responding, said: Thank you very much for your kind Vote of Thanks and the way you have received it. I only hope this Meeting will not be held in vain, but that a great many here who have not subscribed at present will add their names to the Fund, as I hope to do myself, if I have not already done so.

The proceedings then terminated.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS ON THE HILL OF OPHEL.
A REPLY TO GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.¹

By PROF. HUGUES VINCENT, JERUSALEM.

GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN has deemed it unnecessary to waste words on "excavations which do not at present materially increase our knowledge of the Holy Land, had the account been written in a fair and reasonable spirit." But it has been represented to him "that the statements of Father Vincent do a grievous injustice to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund in former years," and that he was "the only person sufficiently acquainted with the work to put matters straight." He responded "with alacrity to this call to duty" (*Q.S.*, April, p. 69).

His article consists of three parts: (1) reflections upon the procedure of the Parker Expedition; (2) various imputations against myself; and (3) speculations on the general topography of Ancient Jerusalem.

As regards the first part, I have only to say that I deplore, as keenly as Sir Charles Warren, the mystery with which the expedition of 1909-1911 has been surrounded.

As for the third part, I shall say nothing. I am too little infatuated with my own archaeological and topographical theories—even those best founded upon facts—to be kindled into maintaining them against what is a travesty of them.² Besides I did not leave

¹ See *Q.S.*, April, pp. 68-74. I am indebted to General Warren for his reference in the footnote (p. 68) to the French edition of my text, the only one for which I can be responsible, with the qualification of the note printed at the head of the book below the Index. I am not less obliged to him for recognising in principle (p. 69 end) that the publication now in course of appearing in the *Revue Biblique* corrects what had been too freely interpreted in the English adaptation, or discrepancies between the plans and the text in Horace Cox's French edition.

² A single and very small example will prove that Sir Charles Warren has not taken heed to read carefully what he would refute. On p. 73 he quotes the *Ecclesiasticus*, which says that Hezekiah cut the rock with iron, whereas Vincent says that Hezekiah's tunnel, like the *šinnör*, was cut with chisels of iron or brass. In this assertion there are (1) a confusion—for why cite the *šinnör* when the question at issue is Hezekiah's work?—and (2) an error.

to Sir Charles Warren the trouble of discovering that one must distinguish between Chap. III of *Jerusalem sous Terre* ("Conclusions archéologiques") and the chapter devoted to the facts.¹ The second part very plainly concerns my scientific probity, and purports to repair my acts of injustice; it alone demands some explanation.

Sir Charles Warren opens with three complaints of my procedure.

(1) In speaking of his work at Jerusalem I am blamed for saying vaguely that "far too many points were left uncertain to give a real value to his results." Then follows a quotation from *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 11, and the *Revue Biblique*, 1912, p. 86, where my "strictures are still more pointed and are untrue."

(2) Sir Charles Warren finds the reason for my "ungenerous observations." "Having thus cast on one side the work of the *P.E.F.* the author takes *all* [my italics] our plans and sections and uses them, giving no indication that the tunnels have already been examined, surveyed, and published in Plates 42 and 43 of the *P.E.F.* Plates." As specific examples selection is made of the plans of the Siloam and Ophel tunnels, which "coincide almost exactly with the original surveys of the *P.E.F.*"

(3) "There are discrepancies and errors in Father Vincent's sections which quite preclude their being of any use for scientific purposes, and the letterpress has a different lettering to the plans." Of this third complaint I have no more to say; it is a little inconsistent with (2): if I have taken *all* Sir Charles Warren's plans and sections, how can my sections be devoid of all utility and scientific value? If the variations are due to me, would Sir Charles Warren kindly specify clearly which they are?² That there are

I said that the Jebusite *šinnōr* of the fifteenth century B.C. had been cut with chisels of iron or brass; but will Sir Charles Warren kindly cite the page where he has read that I affirmed the same of Hezekiah's tunnel? I think I explicitly wrote the contrary (*Jerusalem sous Terre*, p. 22).

¹ See *op. cit.*, preface, in saying that Part III is reserved for some deductions where it will be legitimate for whosoever desires to discuss their value.

² Consequently (p. 70), Sir Charles Warren incidentally indicates the well B, which he regards as a chasm, apparently a natural one. He is astonished that it is marked differently upon different plans, but the ingenuousness of the extract ought to occasion no surprise, seeing that the excavations lasted fourteen to fifteen months during which I had not the authority to make measurements when and as I might have wished. At all events, I have at his disposal my last survey of this very complicated pit B, which is being printed in order to appear shortly in a volume devoted to Jerusalem.

errors, I deplore, and I will correct them gratefully when more precise information by him or anyone else will have allowed me to establish them. And at the end of the paragraph it is willingly granted that the publication now going on in the *Revue Biblique* provides a remedy for some of the mistakes, which a loyal note on the part of the editor had pointed out long before Sir Charles Warren's discovery.

There remain complaints (1) and (2), which I trust I have expressed without distortion; in my reply I will endeavour to be clear and precise:—

1. *The first accusation is unjust.* Sir Charles Warren would clearly give the impression that I have vaguely condemned all his work at Jerusalem. He observes: "we cannot allow the discoveries made in 1867 to be belittled and obliterated by Father Vincent and then brought up again by him as though they were only made in 1909-11." The words cited on p. 69—and incorrectly¹—are neither vague nor have a general reference: they are precise and are applied *solely* to the Ophel tunnel. Everybody can convince themselves of this at the precise places which Sir Charles Warren cites. Everyone also can read in these places my sincere tribute of respect to his "très soigneuses observations," his "énergie," his "habileté" in this "admirable équipée," where he was in a uniquely disadvantageous position in contrast to his successors by reason of his very limited resources and his less powerful and less perfect tools. It has been left for Sir Charles Warren to discover in these phrases a general and hidden criticism upon his excavations.

2. What was supposed to prove my suggested Machiavellism is an astonishing imputation. Sir Charles Warren writes that I have not given any indication of the work of the *P.E.F.* (p. 69). *Jerusalem sous Terre* begins with the words (p. 1, ll. 3 *sqq.*): "le point attaqué n'était autre que le vieux puits ouvert en 1867 par Warren dans le but d'explorer un passage souterrain qui descend à la fontaine . . ."; and where I have referred to the precise pages in the *Recovery of Jerusalem* or in the *Survey Mem. Jerusalem* (see *Jerusalem sous Terre*, pp. 5, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, etc.), does nought of this represent an "indication" of the work of Sir Charles Warren and of the *P.E.F.*?

¹ Where my translator (very freely!) wrote: "proportions real scientific value wells," Sir Charles Warren copies "proportion real value walls." These inexactitudes are typographically minute, but are much for three lines, and it may be inferred that Sir Charles Warren had read them quickly and without précision.

But this is more strange: this would-be omission is supposed to be my tacit plagiarization of all the *P.E.F.*'s plans and sections, especially of the Siloam conduit and the Ophel tunnel. This aspersion had not much moved me when I met it for the first time in the *Q.S.*, January, p. 46, where it may be merely a superficial impression and unverified. But now, and from Sir Charles Warren's pen, it is inconceivable. No doubt there is left the alternative, that the two series of plans are independent and marvellously alike. If Sir Charles Warren chooses this second horn of his dilemma, so much the better. No one has more warmly than myself tendered him my tribute whenever I have borrowed the plans which he so well prepared, and, if God grant, I shall often appeal to his sources, which I am not wont to pirate. Only the actual dilemma is erroneous: between the two series of plans and sections there is not the *almost exact* coincidence which led him to conclude that I had necessarily copied. So little have I "cast on one side," *minimized*, or *passed over in silence* his Survey, that my two chapters devoted to the Ophel tunnel and the Siloam conduit commenced with a tribute to his works. For the latter especially I have written at length (*Jerusalem sous Terre*, p. 19; *Revue Biblique*, 1912, p. 109), how I was attracted to take up a new survey, and I expressed all my admiration for "l'énergie courageuse . . . la précision méritoire" of the tracings of the officers of the Survey "En comparant avec leurs tracés, avec ceux surtout des officiers du Survey, le nouveau tracé obtenu, on n'observera, que des variantes de détail." Then follow details upon the heroic operations of Sir Charles Warren and precise references to his books. So much for the statement that there is "no indication." I may add that, in point of fact, in my drawings of the Ophel tunnel and the Siloam conduit, *there is not a figure and not a line taken from Sir Charles Warren's drawings.*

École Biblique et Archéologique,

Jérusalem, 15th April, 1912.

OBSERVATIONS BY GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN.

I have seen the reply of Prof. Vincent to my remarks on recent excavations on the Hill of Ophel (*Jerusalem sous Terre*) and I find there information which alters the aspect of the subject, and gives it

a different complexion. Prof. Vincent states that he is responsible for the French edition of his text, not for the discrepancies between the plan and text in Horace Cox's French edition, and that the publication now appearing in the *Revue Biblique* corrects what had been too liberally interpreted in the English *adaptation*: he refers to the *Revue Biblique* as a remedy for some of the mistakes, and states that his survey and drawings of the tunnels and passages are entirely independent of mine.

After seeing this letter, I wrote to Prof. Vincent and said (1) that I loyally accepted his assurances that nothing had been taken from my drawings, and regretted that any inference of mine should have suggested it; (2) that I sent him a sketch showing the discrepancies in the several sections of the chasm, so that he might see what I had alluded to; and (3) I pointed out that there seemed to be some misunderstanding on his part as to the meaning I attached to the word *chasm*, as I had never anywhere suggested that it was a natural cavern. I further proposed that in future correspondence on the subject we should agree to discuss the matter in an entirely friendly manner.

I have received a most charming letter from Prof. Vincent in reply, entirely reciprocating my proposal and telling me the circumstances under which the French edition of *Jerusalem sous Terre* and the English *adaptation* were published in England, and expressing his great joy that this misadventure, so far from establishing between us an hostility which would profoundly afflict him, had become, on the contrary, a happy occasion enabling him to express his very sincere esteem and admiration.

In my turn, I must express my delight that this incident should have been the means of bringing me into close acquaintance and friendship with a gentleman so distinguished as an archaeologist and so highly esteemed by all who know him.

CHARLES WARREN.¹

Ramsgate,

9th June, 1912.

¹ Sir Charles Warren wishes it to be understood that the above observations are not made as a reply to Father Vincent's defence, but in acknowledgment of his expressions of goodwill.

WEIGHTS OF ANCIENT PALESTINE.

By E. J. PILCHER.

1. *Introduction.*

READERS of the *Quarterly Statement* have noted from time to time the discovery of small weights with strange marks and inscriptions upon them. Some have been found in the course of the Fund's Excavations, and others have been picked up by natives. Most of these weights are of hard stone, round in shape, with a domed top and a flat bottom, very suitable for use with scales; but there are some examples in metal of a different form. None are large, and it would therefore seem that they were intended for weighing something valuable. They appear to be too early for use as coin weights, and even if they were, we should expect them to have the names of known coins upon them; whereas, the inscriptions that actually occur are: נֶזֶפֶח *Neseph*, פֶּזֶז *Pezaz*, בֶּקָע *Bekah*, and the unexplained mark Q. The probability is that they were used for weighing the precious metals; just as in the Old Testament we continually read about the weighing of shekels of silver when any payment has to be made.

It is somewhat surprising that no weights have yet been found in Palestine with the name of "*Shekel*" inscribed upon them. They may exist, but so far they have escaped notice. It is also curious that, although in the Hebrew Bible this unit of weight is usually referred to as a matter of common knowledge, yet in four places in the Pentateuch an attempt is made to define it; for we are informed that the shekel is made up of twenty gerahs. It may be that these passages are later glosses, but in any case it is noteworthy that the editor or editors thought it necessary to give some explanation of the term. In Ezekiel lxxv, 12, it is also laid down that the shekel should contain twenty gerahs, as though there might be some doubt in the matter; and when we come to Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the shekel fades almost out of sight. In the Books of Samuel and Kings, shekels are always being mentioned; but in Chronicles, which were largely compiled from Samuel and Kings, the word "*shekel*" only occurs in two passages (1 Chronicles xxi, 25, and 2 Chronicles iii, 9). Ezra does not use

the word at all, and in Nehemiah it is only mentioned twice. Once, where it is stated that former governors demanded forty shekels of silver (v, 15), and once in prescribing a poll-tax. Instead of the old familiar shekel we now have *darkemonim* and *adarkemonim*, which are translated in the Revised Version as "darics," although there is little doubt that the Greek *drachma* is really intended; for **דרכמן** is the common and usual form of that word in known Phoenician inscriptions.¹ From this disuse of the word "shekel" in the later books of the Old Testament, we may draw the inference that the shekel itself went out of use during some period of the history of Israel, and therefore it required to be explained to a later generation of readers. This inference is supported by the evidence of Archaeology; because no weights have yet been discovered that are marked in alphabetic characters with the word "shekel," but instead of this we have the *Nesph*, the *Pagum*, the *Belar*, and the *Q* (whatever the latter may be).

Ancient weights have come down to us in fairly large numbers, but it is by no means easy to identify and classify them, even when they do have inscriptions upon them for our guidance, and many are uninscribed. Ancient weights vary very much even when they profess to belong to the same standard. Dr. Petrie tells us that there are two in the British Museum certified as correct by the Roman Prefect Q. Junius Rusticus, yet one of them yields a pound of 4,362 grains, and the other a pound of 5,625 grains. In the *Z.D.M.G.*, 1909, pp. 704-5, Herr Regling gives a list of Babylonian weights which indicate a mina, or Babylonian pound, ranging from 456 grammes to 569.8 grammes; so that it will be seen that the differences are very great. It must not be supposed that the metrologists of antiquity were incompetent; we have many evidences of their care and accuracy, and ancient weights would be even more discordant than they are if the old Wardens of the Standards had been habitually careless or inaccurate. Some of these discrepancies are due to the accidents of time. Stone weights are apt to get chipped and fractured and so lose part of their substance, while metal weights become oxidized and therefore tend to become heavier. Nevertheless, there are many cases where these excuses cannot be made, and it seems that some of the old weights never were accurate, and were not intended to be; but they

¹ *A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, by the Rev. G. A. Cooke (Oxford, 1903), p. 96.

intentionally vary owing to some trade or local custom. These variations occur in every system, and are greatly complicated by the fact that the same name is applied to very different units. Thus, even in our own country, there were at one time three recognized pounds, the Troy pound, the Tower pound, and the Avoirdupois pound. The two first have been abolished, and the third, with a slight modification, is now the only accepted unit. It is called the British Imperial pound and weighs 7,000 grains. The same thing has gone on in all countries, and various weights with the same names have been used side by side, to the sore confusion of the metrologist. And yet the users of these weights found that they were useful and convenient, for a rigid system of weight has its disadvantages. For instance, a shopkeeper who bought seven pounds of sweets, which he had to sell by the ounce, might calculate that he would be able to sell 112 separate ounces over the counter; but, as a matter of fact, in actual practice he would find himself short of that number. The custom of giving the purchaser the "turn of the scale," and the inevitable wastage in a series of small transactions, would soon reach an appreciable figure, so that he would require to make a liberal allowance for contingencies. Various plans have been tried to meet such cases as this; one of the most common being to have two different standards, one for buying and one for selling; a method which still survives among English druggists, who buy by avoirdupois and sell by apothecaries' weight. Such instances may help us to realize why traders adopted such varying standards, but in antiquity there was another complication, for, previous to the invention of coinage, payments had to be made in bullion, that is to say, by a given weight of silver. In our own day and practice, certain stamped pieces of metal pass from hand to hand and are everywhere given and taken at a fixed value. The niceties of commercial exchange are adjusted by systems of rebate and discount, which are matters of calculation, and we find certain discounts customary in certain trades. If we were dependent on weighed silver, a different method would be open to us; and, instead of a fixed and known discount or percentage, we could adjust our business transactions by means of weights of silver having a fixed and known variation from one another. To understand how this would work out in practice, we cannot do better than glance at the actual state of affairs in China, where they still carry on their commerce by weighing out bullion,

just as was done in the rest of the world before the adoption of coinage.

"China has never had a government coin of other metal than copper; other than copper, the currency of the country is not a coin, but a weight. This weight is the 'tael,' as it is called by foreigners, the Chinese name for it being *liang*; and when an operation in international trade, a wholesale purchase, Government indebtedness, or Customs' duties have to be liquidated, payment is effected by weighing out the required number of 'taels' of the stipulated quality of silver. A century ago Germany was the paradise of the money-changer with its numerous coinages, each circulating in its own principality, but that was simplicity itself when compared with China. In China every one of the hundreds of commercial centres not only has its own tael weight, but in many cases has several standards side by side, and these taels of money will be weighed out in silver which, even in one place, will be of several degrees of fineness.

"One town may be taken to typify many, the town of Chungking, in the province of Szechwan, in the far west of China. Here the standard weight of the tael for silver transactions is 555.6 grains, and this is the standard for all transactions in which the scale is not specified. Frequently, however, a modification of the scale is provided for, depending in some cases upon the place from which the merchant comes, or with which he trades, and in others upon the goods in which he deals. A merchant coming from Kweichow, or trading with that place, will probably, but not certainly, use a scale on which the tael weighs 548.9 grains, and between those two extremes are at least ten topical weights of tael, all 'current' at Chungking. In addition to these twelve topical 'currencies' there are others connected with commodities. One of the most important products of Szechwan is salt, and dealings in this are settled by a tael of 556.4 grains, unless it is salt from the Tze-liu well, in which case the standard is 557.7 grains. A transaction in cotton cloth is settled with a tael of 555.0 grains, but for cotton yarn the tael is 556.0 grains, and for raw cotton the tael is 546.7 grains.

"This seems confusion, but we are not yet at the end. Up to this point we have dealt only with the weight on the scale, but now comes in the question of the fineness of the silver with which payment is made. At Chungking three qualities of silver are in

common use—'fine silver' 1,000 fine current throughout the empire, 'old silver' about 995 fine, and 'trade silver' between 960 and 970 fine: and payment may be stipulated in any one of these three qualities. Taking the score of current tael weights in combination with the three grades of silver, we have at least sixty currencies possible in this one town.

"This is characteristic of the Empire. The traveller, even a private individual, journeying from place to place in China, will be careful to take with him a small steel-yard and a string of a few selected 'cash,' the exact weight of which on his home scale is known to him. His first step in cashing a draft, or exchanging the silver he brought with him, is to ascertain the weight of his string of cash on the scales of the strange bank in the strange place, and, having done this, he is able to work out the parity of exchange between his home and the place of his temporary sojourn. Even then, however, he is dependent on the banker in the matter of the quality of the silver.

"Another element of variation, even in this currency, is the difference between the receiving and paying rates in force in all Government treasuries, all banks, and with those merchants of sufficiently strong standing to make their own counting-house rules; this difference, usually between a quarter and a half per cent., is made not by charging a commission but by boldly using two sets of weights, one for receiving and one for paying, and is intended to compensate for the labour of weighing ingots and lumps of silver of no fixed weight, and for the risk incurred and expert knowledge requisite for taking in silver of unknown degrees of fineness. The practice is defended on the same ground as that of the foreign exchange banks in quoting different buying and selling rates for bills of exchange."

If, therefore, the civilization of China had perished, the investigator would learn from literature that the chief unit in use was called a "tael"; but when he came to study the various objects marked "tael" he would find considerable differences between them, and would be puzzled to know what was the real standard weight, or what was the reason for such extraordinary discrepancies. Consequently, we must not be surprised if we find that the study of ancient metrology is surrounded with similar difficulties, for the conditions in antiquity were very like those that now obtain in China. We can only applaud the skill and ability with which our

modern scholars have grappled with all those difficulties, and we must be grateful to them for what they have accomplished in solving so large a part of the problems of the past.

2. *The Phoenician Standard.*

We are now learning that the Eastern Mediterranean possessed a very early and a very brilliant civilization, and as one of the first necessities of civilization is a metric system of some kind, it is only natural that we should find evidences of systems of weight. Dr. Schliemann disinterred a number of stone weights from among the ruins of Troy, and others have been discovered in early seats of Greek culture, one of the most important being the standard talent which Dr. Evans brought from the Palace of Minos at Knossos¹; but the relations of these early weights have still to be determined. We can only say that at the dawn of Greek history, the different states were in possession of standards, which varied very much among themselves but were all tabulated on the same plan, which may be expressed as—

50 staters make one mina,

60 minas make one talent,

so that if we know the value of the stater we can readily arrive at the weight of the talent. But the difficulty is that the standard varied in different localities, so that a mina of Aegina weighed 9,700 grains, while a mina of Athens was only 6,750 grains, and of course the stater and the talent varied in the same proportion. The basis of the whole system of Greek metrology was originally the stater—the mina and the talent being mere multiples of it. But as time went on the half-stater, or drachma, became the unit of most importance; and instead of reckoning 50 staters to the mina, they preferred to reckon 100 drachmas, and when these terms were applied to coinage (for it must be remembered that the names of the weights were habitually transferred to the coins), a piece of two drachmas was styled a didrachma, instead of stater, and a piece of four drachmas was styled a tetradrachm. The consequence was that in the later periods the term “stater” lost much of its original significance, and the word was applied, in a loose kind of way, to any familiar or customary piece of money, so that in the Gospels a coin of the value of a tetradrachm is referred to as a stater, and

¹ *Annals of the British School of Athens*, VII, p. 42, fig. 7.

similar instances occur in other Greek literature. The particular drachma which is most familiar to us is of course the Attic, but we must not forget that the same names were in use in all the other systems.

One of the most widely diffused of these ancient systems was the Phoenician. It may be thought surprising that a Phoenician unit should be associated with the standards of Greece, but the fact remains that many of the earliest Greek coins were struck on this Phoenician standard, showing that the States which issued them were habituated to the system of weight that was the peculiar property of the "Seafaring Sidonians," as Homer calls them. How old the Phoenician standard may be we cannot tell. In Dr. Petrie's collection there is an Egyptian weight which Mr. Weigall attributes to the IVth dynasty on account of the inscription "The Judge and District Superintendent Nefer Maat." He says "it comes from Quft and weighs 451.8 grains, *i.e.*, two 225.9-grain shekels." But, although this looks very inviting, we hesitate to accept any such antiquity for the Phoenician standard. Dr. Petrie's weight is far more likely to represent three Egyptian *kebels* of 150.6 grains each, and though this is a somewhat high value for the *kebel*, as well as a high antiquity, yet an attribution to the Phoenician would involve equal if not greater difficulties. The Phoenician system was founded on the stater, which in this case is best known by its Semitic name of shekel, and weighed 224.5 grains. *Coins* of this standard, when in first-class condition, generally average about 220 grains; although occasional specimens are met with as high as 229.5 grains. Such variations were almost inevitable under ancient methods of coinage. In the first place it was a common practice to issue the coin a little below the theoretic weight, the difference being considered a kind of *seigniorage*, or allowance, for the labour of refining and coining the metal. Thus, the staters of Athens, which are extremely uniform and careful in workmanship, were issued at 133 grains Troy, instead of the real norm, which was 135 grains. In other cases the differences arise through the imperfections of ancient methods; for the industrial resources of antiquity were seldom equal to the task of turning out large quantities of money of a perfectly uniform grade. A certain quantity of silver would be made into so many coins and then sent out of the mint, so that some specimens would be very much above the standard, and others correspondingly below. The result was

that the heavy coins speedily found their way back to the melting pot, while the light ones remained in circulation. Hence it is rare to find examples of such a coinage of the standard weight, and still more rare to find any that exceed it. Nevertheless, the Phoenician weight standard is so distinctive that it is easy to identify it from the others, and it was upon this standard that some of the earliest known coins were minted. Coinage, however, was a Greek invention. The Semitic peoples were slow to adopt it; so, that, although pieces of money of the Phoenician weight were issued by the cities and states of Asia Minor as early as 650 or 700 B.C., it was not until about 450 B.C. that the Phoenicians themselves struck any. When they did so, however, their issues continued down to the time of Alexander, and when Ptolemy Lagus assumed the title of king in 325 B.C. he commenced to strike both gold and silver money on the Phoenician standard, which implies that that standard was the most acceptable one to his new subjects. At this period, and for many years afterwards, Palestine was a bone of contention between the kings of Egypt and the kings of Syria, and the result was that in 125 B.C. the city of Tyre took advantage of the dynastic troubles of the Seleucids to declare itself independent, and the Tyrians signalized their liberty by resuming the issue of silver shekels on the old native standard. This series of shekels is fairly well known. On one side of the coin is the laureated head of Melkarth, and on the other an eagle, with the Greek inscription "of Tyre holy and free." It was issued in large quantities for nearly two hundred years; the latest bearing a date corresponding with A.D. 69. But a still more famous shekel is one that was not issued at Tyre. It bears on one side a chalice, and on the other a triple lily. It did not circulate for such a lengthened period as the Tyrian, for the date letters upon the coins only range from year 1 to year 5, and instead of being inscribed in Greek, they bear legends in the Old Hebrew character, which inform us that they belong to "Jerusalem the Holy," just as the Tyrian shekels were *Τύρον ἁγία καὶ ἀσφαλου*. In addition to this, they are marked "Shekel of Israel," and as they weigh on the average about 220 grains, there can be no doubt that this shekel of Israel was intended to be issued on the Phoenician standard. The exact date of these Jewish shekels has long been a matter of controversy, but the opinion is gaining ground that they belong to the time of the great revolt, and the siege of Jerusalem by Titus: that is to say,

the period reckoned from the 17th Tyyar 3826 to the 8th Elul 3831 Anno Mundi. The older theory relied on 1 Maccabees xv, 5, 6, and attributed the shekels to Simon Maccabeus, but even that brings us down to a time far removed from the period described in the books of the Old Testament, when the shekel of Israel was the unit of weight in sole use among the Hebrews. Nevertheless, these silver coins are sufficient to prove that the Jews themselves recognized that their ancient standard was identical with that of the Phoenicians, and when we remember that the Phoenician standard at the time of the invention of coinage in 700 B.C. was of such antiquity that it had had time to penetrate all over the Greek world, we have every ground for the opinion that this must have been the standard of the Biblical shekel from the earliest known period of Hebrew history. But still the fact remains that these silver coins are the only Judæan weights of this standard that we have yet been able to identify.

Phoenician weights are likewise very rare, but in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there is a small one in bronze, which was acquired from the Greg Collection in 1895. It has the form of a crouching bull, and on the bottom is the word שלשת "three," which we may compare with the רבע שלשת of the Marseilles inscription (*C.I.S.*, i, 165, lines 9 and 11). This would imply that the little animal represents "three quarters" of a Phoenician shekel. It is, however, somewhat light. Dr. Lidzbarski (*Ephem.*, I, p. 11) gave it as weighing 10·679 grammes, but Mr. D. G. Hogarth has recently been kind enough to have it reweighed, and reports that he cannot make it more than 10·3 grammes or 158·9 grains. Theoretically we should expect it to weigh about 168 grains, but the difference is probably due to bad preservation.

We have said that the Phoenician system is founded on the shekel, and it is generally accepted that the Jews and Phoenicians (like the Greeks) reckoned 50 shekels to the mina; because in Exodus xxxviii, 25, we are told that 603,550 men contributed half a shekel a-piece, and the total payment amounted to 100 talents and 1,775 shekels; thus showing that the writer took 3,000 shekels to the talent. Ezekiel xlv, 12, does not seem to support this, but the passage is obviously corrupt, and a better reading appears to be preserved in the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which runs "five shall be five, and ten shekels ten, and fifty shekels shall be your mina."

(To be concluded.)

CENOTAPHS OF THE HEBREW PATRIARCHS AT THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.¹

By THE REV. A. B. GRIMALDI, M.A.

THE Mohammedans consider Hebron one of their most sacred cities, and the cenotaphs within the Mosque there as of the utmost sanctity, and have prohibited all access to them by Jews and Christians. Edward VII obtained entrance, when Prince of Wales, only by a firman from the Sultan. George V obtained admission, when a youthful Prince, in the same way. An extremely few other Christians have entered by secret management. Even as late as 1908, when I was at Hebron, admission to visitors was impossible. I went up a vaulted passage by the side of the Haram wall, but at the top, near the entrance in the gigantic Herodian wall, was a seated Mosque official, who prohibited all further progress.

Extremely few, therefore, have entered the Mosque, and it need hardly be said, that not one of them took photographs of the monuments, nor even dared to ask permission to do so. But even this has now been accomplished, and by the indefatigable exertions of the Editor of the *Northern British Israel Review*, a most valuable set of six photographs of the Patriarchal Monuments were secured for that Journal, and are now presented to the readers of the *Q.S.* These views are absolutely unique, and are taken from photographs made for the first time in history.

Hebron is twenty-seven miles south-west of Jerusalem. It is one of the most ancient cities in the world. It lies in a valley near two large reservoirs. Many important events in Hebrew history took place here. Here Abraham long dwelt; Isaac lived here; Joshua took it and appointed it to Caleb. It became a city of Levi, and was David's capital for seven years. The Arabs call it El-Khalil (the friend, *i.e.*, Abraham). The Moslems are specially fanatical here—when examining the Haram walls, the children threw stones at us.

¹ From the *Northern British-Israel Review* (Frazer, Asher & Co., Ltd., Glasgow), January, 1911, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. M. Graham Coltart, Glasgow.

The Haram is the most remarkable structure in Hebron, and, situated on the slope of one side of the valley, is surrounded by the vineyards of Esheol. It is a parallelogram, estimated by Robinson at 200 by 115 feet. The four walls are about 50 feet high and very thick. The stones are drafted, and hewn smooth, and very large; the edges are bevelled, like those in the Temple area at Jerusalem. Externally they are strengthened by forty-eight flat buttresses, with a plain cornice at the top. They are considered to be of Herod's era. Some of the stones are 20 feet long. This ancient Jewish wall is surmounted by a Saracenic wall of inferior work, with a minaret at each corner, only two of which are finished. The entrance is at the angle of the south end, and spacious steps lead up to it. It is one of the most striking and interesting objects in all Palestine, and creates a profound impression in the visitor's mind. Though I ascended the hillside, I could not see over these huge walls. These Haram walls enclose a large space, in which stands the celebrated Mosque of Hebron. This building was erected by the Crusaders, about 1187, as a Christian Church, but the Moslems have turned it into a Mosque. The style of architecture reminds me of that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, whose first erection was by Helena, the British mother of Constantine, but plainer in detail. The slightly pointed arches, the plain vaulting, supported by three converging ribs from the corner columns, assimilate it to our Early English style in general appearance. But the capitals, with their floreated decorations, are clearly more elaborate, than in this style, and approach nearer to that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The walls above the dado are remarkably plain, and unornamented either by panelling, arcades, or other architectural enrichments. But they may have been frescoed, and such pictures would have been erased, or white-washed over by the Saracens, when they made it into a mosque. The floor consists of large square flags; but rich Damascus carpets cover most of it from view. The dado is of striped tinted marble slabs in perpendicular rows.

THE SHRINE OF SARAH.

Plate 1.—At the entrance to the church are two octagonal chapels attached to its wall, one on each side of the north central door. In one of these is the shrine of Abraham, in the other that



"This is the Tomb of our Lady Sâra . . . upon her be the Peace."

CAVE OF MACHPELAH, HEBRON, PALESTINE.

(Photo by C. Raad. By kind permission of the "Northern British-Israel Review.")

[To face p. 146.]

Palestine Exploration Fund.

Plate II.



THE TOMB OF ISAAC.
CAVE OF MACHPELAH, HEBRON, PALESTINE.

(Photo by C. Raud. By kind permission of the "Northern British-Israel Review.")

[To face p. 146.]

Palestine Exploration Fund.

Plate III.



THE TOMB OF REBEKAH.
CAVE OF MACHPELAH, HEBRON, PALESTINE.
THE TOMB OF ISAAC.

(Photo by C. Raab. By kind permission of the "Northern British-Israel Review.")

[To face p. 146.

Palestine Exploration Fund.

Plate IV.



“This is the Tomb of the Prophet Jacob; upon him be the Peace.”

CAVE OF MACHPELAH, HEBRON, PALESTINE.

(Photo by C. Raud. By kind permission of the “Northern British-Israel Review.”)



“This is the Tomb of the Lady Leah . . . upon her be the Peace.”

CAVE OF MACHPELAH, HEBRON, PALESTINE.

(Photo by C. Raad. By kind permission of the “Northern British-Israel Review.”)



“This is the Tomb of the Prophet Joseph, upon him be the Peace.”

CAVE OF MACHPELAH, HEBRON, PALESTINE.

(Photo by C. Raud. By kind permission of the “Northern British-Israel Review.”)

of Sarah. These chapels form part of a double portico, which is of later date than the church, and of inferior workmanship. The chapels are roofed with small domes covered with lead. The door of each chapel opens into a square vestibule, between them, and in front of the centre church door. The shrine of Sarah stands in the centre of her chapel, under its domed roof, which is ornamented with floral arabesques, terminating in a border of joined semi-circles. A plain cornice runs round the top of the walls, underneath which is a trefoil edging filled in with arabesques. The floor is seen covered with rich Persian and Damascus rugs. The entrance has open barred gates of, it is said, iron plated with silver, apparently of A.D. 1259, while the style of the gates, with heavy globular sockets, is the same as those of Damascus, of the best Arab iron-work. The walls of the chapel are cased with marble, and have gilt inscriptions in Arabic letters around the top of the wall under the dome. Silver lamps and ostrich feathers are in Abraham's Chapel, and so, probably, in this one. Most likely, also, a MS. copy of the Koran is on a low wooden rest in front of the cenotaph.

THE SHRINE OF ISAAC.

Plate 2.—This view shows the shrine of Sarah's only son, Isaac. It is in the church, opposite that of Rebekah, between the nave and the east aisle, on one side of where the altar was, now replaced by the mihrab or recess pointing to Mecca, to which Moslems turn when praying. This is seen in the view, cut out of the end of the massive Jewish enclosing wall. It is flanked by slender pillars, with richly carved capitals of Gothic design. It is lined with marbles in alternate light and dark stripes, and has a coved ceiling. Two tall candles, in turned holders, stand at the entrance, and three lamps, hung on silver chains from the roof, are in front. The marble panelling of the dado is seen on either side. Close beside it is seen the minbar or pulpit. Colonel Conder says it is beautifully constructed of cabinet work, resembling that in the Aksah Mosque in the Haram area of Jerusalem, which I remember admiring for its delicacy of carving in cedar wood and exquisite designs. He thinks that the Hebron pulpit was given by Saladin, 1187, after the capture of Ascalon from the Crusaders; of Damascus work. Above it hangs a rich lamp from the ceiling by a silver chain. The dome-roof of the pulpit is rich in Saracenic stalactite work, as seen in

the Alhambra. Curtains depend from the roof. The last bay of the east aisle is seen behind the Shrine. The Shrine lies between the two columns separating the aisle from the nave. Canon Dalton considers this position was given by the Christians. This shrine is of oblong form, with gable roof, the ridge being about 12 feet from the floor. The walls and roofs are of well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of yellowish and reddish limestone, called Santa Croce marble, found in the vicinity. Brass crescents are seen on the gable ends. Two windows are seen in the sides, which have heavy iron bars, through which the cenotaph can be seen. The door is of wood, adorned with various patterns in brasswork.

The cenotaph is in the centre inside, and is covered with richly-embroidered silk hangings, and has a cloth hung as a canopy above it. The coverings are green, the Moslem sacred colour; the embroidered inscriptions being in silver and gold. Arabic inscriptions on silver plates are fastened to the doors and windows. MS. copies of the Koran, as books, lie open all round on low wooden rests. A rich lamp is seen hanging from the ceiling at the shrine.

THE SHRINE OF REBEKAH.

Plate 3.—This view shows the position of the two shrines of Isaac and Rebekah, facing the mihrab, one on either side. Above is a circular-headed window of stained glass, resembling those in the Dome of the Rock, over the Sakhras, at Jerusalem, about 1528. This Hebron window has large opaque discs, in the form of an hour-glass, as a border to the richly-coloured pattern. Two circular tablets, apparently bearing Arabic inscriptions, are fastened to a narrow light gallery, resting on iron brackets, which runs round the church. The shrine is similar to that of Isaac, the masonry bands, sloping roof, pinnacle crescents, are all plainly seen. It has also similar doors and windows. The cenotaph also is similar, but is covered with richly-embroidered crimson curtains, with gold and silver inscriptions.

THE SHRINE OF JACOB.

Plate 4.—The shrine of Jacob is in a chamber near the north-end of the Haram, separated from the church by a courtyard. Jacob's Shrine is separated from Leah's by a passage. An open barred gate opens from this passage into Jacob's Shrine, and through

it, the cenotaph is visible, which resembles the others. It has green silk hangings embroidered in a zig zag pattern, which is an emblem signifying water or waves, used from the earliest times as a hieroglyphic of the Zodiacal sign, Aquarius (Water pourer), the emblem of Reuben (Genesis xlix, 4). On the covering is an Arabic inscription, meaning: "This is the Tomb of the Prophet Jacob; upon him be the Peace." The cenotaph is encircled by hanging lamps, and on the floor are three rests holding three Korans. A cornice of Arabic writing runs round the room. It seems that this shrine has never before been entered by any but Moslems.

THE SHRINE OF LEAH.

Plate 5.—This view shows her Shrine. It is about 8 feet by 4 feet, and 8 feet high, made of stone, with a gable or sloping roof. It is probably similar to Rebekah's Shrine, *i.e.*, of alternate bands of yellowish or reddish limestone. It is covered with rich crimson silk. On squares let into the crimson coverings are inscriptions in gold Arabic-writing on a black ground, meaning: "This is the Tomb of our Lady Leah. Upon her be the Peace."

What appear to be two richly-decorated bags, hung by silver chains, are seen in front. Their significance is not clear. An Arabic inscription makes a border to the top covering.

THE SHRINE OF JOSEPH.

Plate 6.—This shrine, singularly enough, is not within the Haram area. At the north-west angle of the Haram wall, but outside it, is the shrine of Joseph, in a building probably later than the Crusades. It will be seen that the arches, ribs, and vaults correspond to those of the church, and are probably of Arabic origin. Two brass Damascene jars and an ostrich egg hang above the cenotaph. Outside are two Koran books on rests. This cenotaph is covered with pale green silk, having white lettering. The shrine has a lantern of octagonal shape, surmounted by a dome covered with lead.

Beneath this shrine is a chamber containing the second cenotaph of Joseph. On the coverings of the first is the water-emblem, and an inscription about Joseph, as in the view. Could the second cenotaph refer to Asenath?

In conclusion, the cenotaphs are monuments, not tombs. Under the church is the original Cave Tomb of Machpelah. In the church pavement are three movable slabs, which give access, by ladder or rope, to the Cave. But two are fastened up, and not even Moslems are allowed to enter by the third. It is used to throw down written petitions to Abraham; and, looking down, the floor is seen to be covered as with snow-flakes. When George V visited the mosque, a light was let down, and the rocky sides were seen, and a doorway entering out of this ante-chamber into the Tomb Cave itself.

Almost all the facts, dates, descriptions, and explanations in the above article have been taken from a very valuable report by the late Colonel Conder, R.E., in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1882, pp. 197-206, where is also the best plan of the Haram yet printed. Colonel Conder (then Captain) having accompanied George V (then Prince) to the Hebron Mosque in that year. But these photographs add some details which are not to be found even in Colonel Conder's report.

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE AT DAMASCUS.

By Father LOUIS JALABERT, S.J.,

University of St. Joseph, Beirut.

HAVING studied the inscriptions of Damascus with a view to the *Corpus* of the Greek and Roman Inscriptions of Syria, I am in a position to furnish some additional observations relating to the new text published by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1912, pp. 40 *sqq.* As the editor has not appended to it any transcription, I may be allowed first to propose the reading, which is the more easy since the copy of your correspondent is excellent, and requires only a slight correction:—

Ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Μηνόδω-
ρον Ζένωνος νεώτερον
ἱεροταμιῶν ᾠκοδόμη-
θησαν καὶ ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ
ταύτῃ δόμ[ο]ι εἰς τῶν
τοῦ κυρίου Δι[ός].
Ἔτους θμτ'.

This inscription belongs, as the Rev. Hanauer has well seen, to a series of texts relating to the activity of various commissions of "temple-stewards" (*hierotamiai*) who have successively presided over the temple of the Damascene Jupiter.¹ He cites four of these² :—

- (a) Waddington, No. 2551 *a* = *CIG*, 4512.
- (b) Waddington, No. 1879 = *CIG*, 4513; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, I, p. 60; and *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, second series (1856), p. 367 (after Porter's copy).³
- (c) *Q.S.*, 1910, p. 40, with the corrections proposed by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau, *ibid.*, p. 85.

To these texts must be added four which your correspondent has not noticed :—

- (d) Waddington, No. 2551 *b* = *CIG*, 4514.
- (e) *Q.S.*, 1896, p. 225, and 1897, p. 84; Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'Archéol. Orient.*, II, p. 149; *Revue Biblique*, 1900, pp. 92, 307 and 441; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.*, IV, p. 83; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XIV, p. 19, No. 1; *Izvestiia rous-skago archeolog. institouta v. Konstantinopolié*, VII, p. 100.
- (f) *Revue Biblique*, 1900, pp. 92 and 307; *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.*, IV, p. 83.
- (g) *Ibid.*, p. 93.

All these texts do not expressly mention the office of the temple-stewards; we find them only in *a*, *b*, *e*, *f*, as also in the text edited by the Rev. Hanauer, and in that of Dr. Popolani (*Q.S.*, 1912, p. 42). The inscription *e* mentions the "first architect" — ὁ πρῶτος [ἀρχιτέκτων], if we adopt Uspenski's reading.

If to the seven inscriptions enumerated above we add that published by the Rev. Hanauer and that discovered by Dr. Popolani, and if we complete the series by Waddington, 2549 (*cf.* Froehner, *Mélanges*, XI-XXV, p. 31), 2550 and 2551 (Renan, *Mission en Phénicie*, p. 359), we should actually possess a group of twelve inscriptions relating to the great temple of Jupiter Damascenus.⁴

¹ See, for this temple, the note by Perdrizet, *Revue Biblique*, 1900, p. 440 *seq.*

² *CIG*, 4516 = Waddington, No. 2562 *g*, has no connection with the temple at Damascus.

³ It may be asked whether the inscription published in the *Athenaeum*, 1881, June 4th, p. 759, is not a bad copy, and an imperfect one, of this text.

⁴ I leave out of account the inscription published by A. Dumont (*Revue Archéol.*, 1869, I, p. 456); it seems patently of a funerary character; moreover, there is no space here to introduce the inscriptions relating to the Christian basilica which followed the temple of Jupiter.

Of these the most interesting are those which have preserved, though in a fragmentary state, details of the works executed in the temple and its immediate surroundings. The details are as follows:—

(b) . . . τὸ γάμμα ἀπὸ τοῦ . . . [μέχρι] τῆς ἀμαξηλάτου εἰσόδου
ἐθεμ[ελίωθη . . .] ἐκ τῶν τ.ῦ κυρίου Διός.

(c) ὠκοδομήθη τὸ παρὸν τῖχος τοῦ δ[υτικοῦ μέρους . . . or περιβόλου].
One can scarcely venture upon any more complete restoration—
[τῆς αὐ]λῆς σπουδῇ . . . —because the extent of the lacuna is not known exactly.

(e) [ἐπ]ο[ίη]σ[ε]ν Μητροπόλεως . . . The restoration of the first word, proposed by Clermont-Ganneau, seems to be justified by the copies of Masterman, von Oppenheim and Uspenski. The word ἐποίησεν, very vague in itself, received a more precise sense from the place which the block occupied in the original building. As a matter of fact it is no more *in situ*.

(f) ὁ πύργος ἀπὸ τοῦ τρ . . . I do not venture upon a restoration since the extent of the lacuna is not certain. The restoration of the continuation proposed by Clermont-Ganneau may well be the best—[ἐκ μαρ]μαραίου [λ]ί[θ]ου—but one would rather have expected μαρμαρίνου. If the lacuna is, as it seems, very short, one may perhaps think of restoring simply ἀπὸ τοῦ τρ[ίτου μαρ]μαραίου [λ]ί[θ]ου. The remainder of the restoration, as proposed by Clermont-Ganneau—appears to me to be open to question—καὶ σὺν τῷ ἐν[ύ]δ[ρω] ταφρεύματι καὶ σπαλ[-ίωνι].

(h) . . . ἐ[π]άνω κύματι . . . [ἐ]ξέδρας; perhaps, [σὺν τῷ ἐ[π]άνω κύματι (!)

Finally the inscription published by the Rev. Hanauer furnishes the following information: ὠκοδομήθησαν καὶ ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ ταύτῃ δόμ[ο]ι ε', or ιε', if the horizontal line surmounts the two characters as in his copy; in this case the engraver or the copyist has omitted one of the two successive Ι. Thus, apart from *other* works, there will have been placed 5 (or 15) courses on the side east of the peribolus—that is, if the stone is still approximately in its original position.

If we have to allow for the probable removal of all these inscribed stones, one can scarcely venture to locate the works to which they refer. It will be noticed, however, that the Rev. Hanauer's inscription was discovered north of the triple bay on the east; the same provenance is indicated for the text *c*. Inscription *d* seems to have been seen on the north (?) of the ancient temple, while *b* was recovered on the south, a little way away from the peribolus. Dr. Popolani's inscription was found on the west, and finally, *e* was built into the wall south of the great mosque, and *f* and *g* on the northern part of the eastern wall.

Thus, we see, the epigraphical data fix the four sides of the building. The information which the texts bring to us are not to be ignored.

Through them we get to know some details of the works, we know who has presided over them, and what purse has paid the expenses.

Four texts even contain some chronological indications: *a* mentions the Emperor Julian: two others are dated respectively **LZ T** (*f*) and **ΘMT** (Hanauer); the last (*c*) has only preserved of the date the characters **II**.

It is not necessary to read solely η' or $\iota\beta'$, as the Rev. H. S. Cronin has proposed (*Q.S.*, 1910, p. 42); the date should contain three letters, like the two texts which are better preserved.

It is evident that the two dates **ZXT** and **ΘMT** are not to be calculated after the Seleucidan era in use at Damascus.¹ The Rev. Hanauer is right, I think, in introducing the era of Pompey, which commences in 64 B.C. or October 63.² Following this computation, the Rev. Hanauer's inscription will date from A.D. 285 or 286, and will be a few months later than the advent of Diocletian. This date harmonizes very well with the palaeography, which points to a rather low period. This is characteristic of all the texts in question, only inscription *a* is apparently more ancient.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF SYMON SIMEONIS.

By PROF. R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

MR. MARIO ESPOSITO of Dublin, whose name is honourably known for his researches into the writings of mediæval Irish Ecclesiastics, has recently contributed to *Hermathena* (the journal published by Trinity College, Dublin) an interesting account of the itinerary of Symon Simeonis, an Irish Franciscan, who visited Egypt and Palestine in the year 1322. There is but one manuscript of this document extant, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which was very inaccurately edited in 1777, and has since been completely neglected. In the company of another friar, called in the itinerary Ilugo Illuminator,³ he travelled from his monastery, the name of which (Clen) is unfortunately

¹ At Damascus it underwent a slight modification: cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.*, I, p. 9 seq.

² At least at Gerasa: cf. Brunnow, *Provincia Arabia*, III, p. 304.

³ No doubt a translation of some native Irish name—Aedh Solusta, or the like.

defective in the manuscript. Mr. Esposito suggests Glane in county Kildare. Their journey lay through England (where the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral, 500 feet high, "filled them with amazement"), through France to Marseilles, thence to Nice, Genoa, and Bobbio, where they visited the tomb of the Irish Missionary Saint, Columbanus, and ultimately crossing Italy to Venice, which, "by reason of its beauty and cleanliness is worthy of being placed among the stars of Arcturus, and the shining Pleiades." Thence they sailed down the Adriatic to Crete, where they found a nomadic tribe, rightly identified by Mr. Esposito with the gypsies: this is one of the earliest references to gypsies in Europe which we possess.

On the 14th October, 1322, the brethren reached Alexandria, where, of course, they had to put up with a certain amount of inconvenience on account of the hostility of the Muslim population to the Christian religion—in return for which the good friars express their opinion of the Muslim religion, its founder, and its followers, with true mediaeval frankness. The Saracens called the Latin Christians "Fransy" (i.e., *Franji*), the Greeks, "Bomi" (evidently a mistake for *Rūmi*), the Jacobites "Nysramy" (i.e. *Nusrāni*: it is interesting if this word, now applied to all Christians, were really so restricted), monks of all orders were "Ruben" (i.e., *raḥbān*) and Jews were "Lihud" (*el-Yehūd*) or "Kelb," that is, dog.¹

Various places of interest in Alexandria, including the Catacombs, were noticed, and then the travellers proceeded by a place called "Fow" (*Fūah*, at the junction of the Mahmudiyyeh Canal with the Rosetta branch of the Nile) to Cairo, which was twice as extensive and four times as populous as Paris. Of course the centre of interest for the travellers was the sites connected with the sojourn of the Holy Family; but "Joseph's granaries" (i.e., the pyramids) did not escape their attention.

In Cairo, poor Aedh died of a fever, and was buried in the Church of St. Mararius. Symon, however, continued his journey to the Holy Land. He has some interesting remarks on the Nile, which he calls "Wyon" (i.e., Gihon): believing it to be navigable from the Mediterranean "to Upper India" in 70-days' journey. It would be worthy of all commendation were it not the retreat of "certain most noxious animals" called cocatrix (crocodiles). The *saḥītyeh* or

¹ It is to be noted that these words are all, except "Ruben" and "Lihud," in the *singular* number, not in the plural or collective. Symon must have pointed to *individuals*, and asked for the name given to each.

water-wheel attracted his attention, and the fruits of Egypt delighted him, especially the bananas, which were, of course, a hitherto unknown luxury to the traveller from the remote north-west. These "apples of paradise," he says, "are of incomparable goodness: they are oblong, and when ripe, of a greenish colour, beautiful to look at, exquisite to smell, mellifluous to taste, and when cut across they show the sign of the crucifixion most clearly. They . . . grow on a shrub which is called 'musa' (i.e., *māzeh*) whose leaves resemble very much . . . those of a certain plant which in England is called *radigthe*,¹ though they are much larger."

We cannot linger over the many "plums" which Mr. Esposito has extracted from Symon's observations, during his sojourn in Cairo on the manners and customs and the natural history of Egypt; all of which show Symon to have been a man who knew how to use his eyes.² The elephants in the Sultan's menagerie did not please him, though he notes that, "by reason of their excessive bulk and height they appear to be possessed by the great strength which the Scriptures testify." On the other hand, he expresses in language of glowing enthusiasm his admiration for the "geranfak," as he calls the giraffe.

With three dragomans (one of them a renegade Knight Templar) Symon pursued his now lonely journey to the Holy Land. They met the Bedawin, whom he describes, but suffered no injury at their hand. By way of Belbeis (*Belbes*), Salathia (*Salihieh*), and Cathia (*Katieh*), our traveller passed over the sandy desert to Gaza, whose fertile surroundings enchanted him after the toilsome desert march. Throughout Symon displays the child-like delight in the beauties of nature which is so characteristic of early and mediaeval Irish literature. He does not seem to have visited Hebron, though he refers to it. Jerusalem he approached by what appears to have been a rather unusual route at that time—up the Wady es-Surâr as far as its junction with the Wady el-Werd at Bittir, and then over the ridge to the Convent of the Cross and so to Jerusalem by David's Tower.

Symon gives a full account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, including a tradition about the "centre of the earth" to the effect

¹ Apparently an attempt at spelling the word "radish" in orthography based on that of mediaeval Irish.

² His general accuracy in representing foreign place-names shows him also to have been possessed of that equally rare gift, a good ear.

that the spot was pointed out as such by Christ Himself. And then just as we are about to get what could not fail to be an interesting account of the Haram esh-Sherif, and presumably of the other sacred sites of Jerusalem, the one manuscript of this fascinating itinerary most provokingly breaks off, and the subsequent adventures of our traveller are lost to us. We share heartily the hope that another and more complete manuscript of the text may some time come to light, and enable us to see Symon safely back to his distant island monastery. And the excellence of Mr. Esposito's previous work stimulates us to look forward with the greater eagerness to the full edition of the text which, at the end of the article at present under review, he promises to give us at some future date.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom. By the Rev. Adam C. Welch, Theol.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912.)

Under this title Dr. Welch has brought together a series of lectures on the following subjects: The Stories of JE, Prophecy before Amos, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Deuteronomy. To the lectures he has added fifty pages of notes and indexes. The notes are largely of the nature of footnotes, but are placed at the end of the volume that the text of the lectures may be read without distraction. Still, as the notes are added, some readers presumably are intended to consult them, and for their convenience, the chapters to which they refer should have been given in the headlines of the pages. The notes contain a good deal of interest, but at present it is aggravatingly and unnecessarily difficult to discover to what pages of the text they refer.

On such well-worn themes it would be difficult, perhaps, to say much that would be at once fresh and sound; but Dr. Welch handles his material with independence and sobriety, and frequently offers criticisms on prevailing opinions well worthy of consideration. Some of his readers may conclude that he, himself, has yielded too much to the view of Gressmann that much of the writings of the Hebrew

prophets is old stereotyped eschatology, which was held by the prophets in common with other people, and which they repeated, not because they particularly wanted to do so, but because it was the proper thing to do, or, as Dr. Welch himself puts it: "Amos, in fact, is using stock phrases"; "men—and especially a man of Amos's individuality of mind—do not heap together phrases like this, so long as the figures which the words represent convey a definite impression. The more confused the picture is, the more clear does it become that this method of representing Jahveh's work has grown colourless because it is merely traditional."

Why use such a monstrosity as Jahveh? Jehovah is, indeed, a philological monstrosity, but it has acquired a certain position in English literature. Jahveh is neither English nor Hebrew. It is, of course, correct in German, but in English a form intended to reproduce approximately the original pronunciation must begin with Y.

It should be added that Dr. Welch's particular aim in his lectures has been "to point out how, under the Kingdom, prophecy with its wider ideals and the nation with its narrower outlook at first support each other, but finally separate, and how their interaction makes each more conscious of its peculiar task." It is pleasant to welcome in Dr. Welch another accomplished worker in the field of Hebrew Religion and Prophecy.

G. B. G.

A History of Civilization in Palestine. By R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1912).

This little book (price 1s.) is one of the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature. The author, now Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin, was lately our Director of Excavations during several years, and these useful and readable pages are one of the results of his thorough and arduous examination of ancient sites. He here condenses into a brief, continuous history, not without a certain picturesque colouring, the fragments of evidence which have come to light, bit by bit and irregularly, during researches scientifically carried on for many years, and especially during his own labours. Thus he is able to place before readers, in a popular and interesting form, a consecutive series of pictures of the conditions of life in Palestine, which, although necessarily shadowy, cannot but assist readers of the Bible in

forming a mental picture of the circumstances in which the incidents of the narrative occur.

It is probably the first time that the detached facts from a remote past have been woven together into a continuous whole.

J. D. C.

Handbook for Palestine and Syria. Karl Baedeker. Fifth Edition: 1912. Price 14 marks.

This new edition of Baedeker's well-known Guide Book, which will be found most useful to travellers in the Holy Land and Syria, has been carefully revised throughout, and brought up to date. The maps and plans have evidently received considerable attention, and, while some of those included in previous editions have been improved, several new ones have been added. The plan of Jerusalem has the names printed in English, and not in French, which will be appreciated by English visitors; the plan of Damascus has been redrawn, and there are new plans of Seleucia, and of the environs of Baalbek. An additional section has been included, giving an excellent short guide to Cyprus, accompanied by a map of the island and good plans of the towns of Famagusta and Nikosia. Cyprus is so frequently visited by travellers on their way to and from the Holy Land, that this new section will be found very useful.

C. M. W.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *A MS. of Homer at Jerusalem.*—The two columns of the last work the "Kestoi," of Julius Africanus found upon a papyrus from Oxyrrhynchus (Number 412) contain a noteworthy reference to Jerusalem in the time of Alexander Severus. Africanus, when arguing in favour of inserting some twenty-seven additional lines in the *Odyssey*, cites three evidently well-known Homeric manuscripts as containing them. One of these, he says, "you will find in the 'colony' of Aelia Capitolina in Palestine." So the new city created by Hadrian possessed a library and some works in it of paleographical and literary value.

JOSEPH OFFORD.

2. *Note on the Emendation of Amos ii, 13 (A.V.) proposed in Q.S., 1912, p. 102.*—It is difficult to believe that עֲגֵלָה can mean the threshing sledge מוֹרֵג, for (1) the etymology is against it, (2) it is used in other passages where a wheeled cart or waggon must be intended.

But the heavy ox-cart with solid wheels, such as is used in India by peasants, might well be loaded with sheaves or anything to make it still heavier, and used instead of the threshing sledge sometimes. עֲגֵלָה, the clumsy bullock-cart, could then be differentiated by us from רֶכֶב, רֶבִיב, מִרְכָּב, מִרְכָּבָה, the lighter, swifter, chariot for war or pleasure.

GEORGE FARMER.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	HEBREW.	ENGLISH.
א	'	כּ	<u>kh</u>
בּ	b	ל	<u>l</u>
בֿ	<u>bh</u>	מ	<u>m</u>
גּ	g	נ	<u>n</u>
גֿ	<u>gh</u>	ס	<u>s</u>
דּ	d	ע	'
דֿ	<u>dh</u>	פּ	<u>p</u>
הּ	<u>h</u>	פֿ	<u>f</u>
וּ	v, w	צ	<u>z</u>
ז	z	ק	<u>k</u>
זֿ	<u>h</u>	ר	<u>r</u>
ח	<u>t</u>	שׁ	<u>sh</u>
ט	y	ס	<u>s</u>
ק	k	תּ	<u>t</u>
		תֿ	<u>th</u>

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
ا	'	د	<u>d</u>
ب	b	ت	<u>t</u>
ث	t	ظ	<u>tz</u>
ج	<u>th</u>	ع	'
ح	g	غ	<u>gh</u>
خ	<u>h</u>	ف	<u>f</u>
د	<u>kh</u>	ك	<u>k</u>
ذ	d	ل	<u>l</u>
ر	<u>dh</u>	م	<u>m</u>
ز	r	ن	<u>n</u>
س	z	ه	<u>h</u>
ش	s	و	<u>w</u>
ص	<u>sh</u>	ي	<u>y</u>
ض	<u>z</u>		

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

REMOVAL OF THE SOCIETY'S OFFICES.

Subscribers and others are reminded that the Offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund have been established in their new freehold premises, No. 2, **HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.**, and all letters should now be so addressed. Hinde Street leads from the east side of Manchester Square, and No. 2 is next door to Mandeville Place, and on the south side of the street.

The Office and Museum are on the ground floor.

Mr. Archibald C. Dickie has been appointed Professor of Architecture at the University of Manchester; and, by the time this "Quarterly" is issued, will have taken up his important new duties. While, on the one hand, he has their hearty congratulations on this well deserved distinction, the Committee have every reason to regret the loss of his valuable services which have been rendered ungrudgingly and most efficiently. Upon the death of Mr. Armstrong, who for so many years filled the position of Acting Secretary, it seemed impossible to replace one who knew Palestine from end to end; but from the time that the Committee prevailed on Mr. Dickie to come to their aid, his local knowledge, his experience in excavation, and of the habits and prejudices of the population, have proved a constant advantage; whilst his architectural and archaeological training, his orderly methods, and, not least, his amiability and tact have been invaluable.

Many subscribers may be unaware that, when our Treasurer resolved on his munificent gift of freehold premises to this Society, it was Mr. Dickie who, at the Treasurer's request, negotiated the purchase, planned and superintended the alterations and repairs, and finally effected the removal, in good order, of all the Society's property, books, papers, models and antiquities to the new premises. His talent for organization and order made this an opportunity for arranging the objects in the Museum systematically and effectively as was never before possible.

That this was all done while the regular office-work and correspondence were carried on without interruption speaks much for those qualities which have made Mr. Dickie's services so valuable.

The Committee have appointed as Chief Clerk Mr. George Ovenden, who has been in their Office for some twelve years, under both Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Dickie, and has acquired a thorough knowledge of the business of the Office, as well as a considerable acquaintance with all that has gone on in Palestinian Exploration.

The *Annual* of the P.E.F. for 1911 is now to be had. It contains three important monographs by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie and Dr. Gustav Dalman, and is plentifully illustrated with forty plans and drawings by Mr. Francis G. Newton. Dr. Mackenzie gives an exhaustive account of the megalithic monuments at Amman, which he has studied in the light of similar monuments elsewhere; it is the most important contribution to this subject that has yet been written, and will be of value to all who are interested in the very difficult questions which these remarkable remains have raised. Dr. Mackenzie also writes a full description of the P.E.F. excavations at 'Ain Shems in 1911. This supersedes the brief reports published in the *Q.S.*; it gives a complete survey and classification of the discoveries, and investigates the historical and other problems which the excavation has brought. Finally, Prof. Dalman has contributed a very noteworthy account of the "Treasury of Pharaoh" at Petra. He gives a careful description of the architectural and other features of this remarkable façade, the date of which he discusses. Apropos of this monograph it should be mentioned that on page 107 a slight misprint has crept into Dr. Dalman's report: the façade is to be

ascribed to the period of such Nabatean kings as Aretas IV Philodemos or Rabbelos II Soter.

Sir John Gray Hill, in opening the Palestine Exhibition in Liverpool on June 4th, gave an interesting account of his experiences in Palestine. He owns some land on the Mount of Olives, and for many years has spent his holidays in the East among a people whose hearts he has won. In his speech he refers to the barrack-like buildings which have been erected by the Jews in the New North Jewish suburb, and he has sent to the office two photographs illustrating the cramped and dreary habitations in which many of the Jews live. He reports, however, that prominent Jews are taking the matter up, and in consultation with him the question of a garden suburb has been raised. His speech emphasizes the agricultural possibilities of Palestine. Irrigation is the chief problem. There are many old cisterns round and near Jerusalem, but they need overhauling. He mentions one which was circular in shape, no less than 56 feet deep by 45 feet in diameter, so that it could have held an enormous amount of water. On his own land there was originally no cistern visible, but after a search several were found and improved, and there are now six very large ones, holding about 800,000 gallons of water, ample for all purposes, and a boon to the poor peasants in the dry season.

Prof. R. A. S. Macalister writes to point out that the translation of the Arabic inscriptions upon the graves of Sarah and Leah in the article on the "Cenotaphs of the Hebrew Patriarchs" (*Q.S.*, July, pp. 145-150) should read: "This [is] the tomb of our lady Sara; Allah receive her with favour; wife of the prophet 'the Friend of the Compassionate,' upon him be the peace"; and "This [is] the tomb of our lady Laikah; Allah receive her with favour; wife of the prophet Ya'kūb, upon him be the peace."

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer writes that the Damascus Greek inscription (*Q.S.*, July, p. 150), line 2, reads **ZHNΩNOΣ** and not **ZENΩNOΣ**. Mr. Newton, he says, reports that this inscription and Dr. Popolani's are still *in situ*. Apropos of Mr. Farmer's note (p. 159), he forwards snap-shots of a *hīlān* or heavy threshing-sledge with toothed and circular saw-like iron wheels. This form of

threshing-sledge is said to be very common further north, at Hamah, Homs, etc.—there is a description of it in the *Q.S.*, 1891, p. 114 *seq.* He also sends a photograph showing traces of an apse or *mihrab* in the large recess of the southern walls of the church and mosque close to the “House of Ananias.”

Prof. Ronzevalle has recently published some valuable *Notes and Studies on Oriental Archaeology*, among which is an article on the Gezer-tablet with new reproductions. He decides that it is not a “palimpsest,” he is convinced of its great antiquity, and thanks to a minute examination of the original, he has been able to make several new and important suggestions to which we hope to refer in another issue.

Mr. Pileher has written for the *Q.S.* an interesting and valuable monograph on the *Weights of Ancient Palestine*, the conclusion of which appears in this issue. Apart from the utility of the enquiry from a more academical point of view, the subject is of interest to many, and it will be seen that the weights unearthed in course of excavation are not isolated phenomena, but admit of being brought into association with other branches of archaeology. As, step by step, this investigation of details and correlation of results link up larger bodies of evidence, it is found that we are no longer dealing with data which are of trifling value and of no general interest, but we are gaining new light upon the vicissitudes of internal conditions in Ancient Palestine which are more immediately helpful to every intelligent student of the Bible.

On Saturday, September 7th, Sir Charles Watson gave an address on the work of the Fund at the United College Hall, St. Andrews. The meeting was presided over by the Bishop of London, and resulted in the foundation of a local branch with the Rev. Dr. J. D. Sloan as the local Secretary.

The Bishop of Chichester has written a preface to Archdeacon Dowling's forthcoming third edition to his *Jerusalem Patriarchate*. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have just published the Archdeacon's *Sketches of Georgian Church History* (Illustrated), price 2s. 6d., and his *Sketches of Caesarea (Palaestina)*, from earliest Caesar to latest Sultan, price 1s. 6d.

The statement on p. 145 of the *Q.S.* regarding the uniqueness of the photographs of the Cave of Machpelah needs some modification. The *P.E.F.* already possessed slides of some of the views, and when the Sultan of Turkey ordered photographs to be taken more than eight years ago, copies were obtainable in Jerusalem.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year just passed, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5s.; unbound, 3s. 6d.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour map of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet \times 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3s. Case and packing extra.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6s. 9d. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10s. 6d. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1911 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by Mr. George Armstrong, is now ready, price 6s. The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index,

bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

The Dead Sea; A New Route to India, &c., by Captain W. Allen, R.N. (2 vols.). Kindly presented by Mr. Hubert Garle.

Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1912. Part 5.

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Vol. V, parts 1 and 2. Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Sakje-Geuzi in North Syria, 1911, by Prof. J. Garstang; Third Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia, by Prof. J. Garstang, D.Sc.

For all the World. Annual Report of the Religious Tract Society.

The Biblical World, May, 1912. Recent Excavations in Jerusalem, by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, July and August.

American Journal of Archaeology, April-June, 1912.

Revue Biblique, July, 1912: La Secte Juive de la Nouvelle Alliance au Pays de Damas, par R. P. Lagrange; Les récents fouilles d'Ophel, par R. P. H. Vincent.

Le Sacerdoce ou 1ère Homélie sur le Sacerdoce, par St. J. Maron.

Echos d'Orient, July and August, 1911.

Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Jan.-April, 1912.

Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale: extract from the "Mélanges de la faculté orientale," Beirut; by S. Ronzevalle, S.J. L'Aigle funéraire en Syrie; monuments phéniciens du Musée de Constantinople; Terre-cuite de Saïda; traces du culte de Tanît en Phénicie; la tablette hébraïque de Gézer, etc.

Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Vol. XXXV, Part 3.

Mittheilungen und Nachrichten, Palästina-Vereins, 1912, No. 4.

Records of the Past, May-June, 1912.

Sphinx, June-July, 1912.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei; 1911, fasc. 11 and 12 and Vol. VIII, Supplements.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, March-April and May-June, 1912.

Al-Athar: Revue universelle mensuelle, by I. A. Malouf, Zahleh, Lebanon, Vol. I, Parts 4-12.

Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle: June, July and August, 1912.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire specially to thank Mrs. Ross Scott for the following valuable contributions to the Library:—

Dictionary of the Bible (3 Vols., ed. 1863), by W. Smith, LL.D.

The Hill of the Graces, by H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.

The New Biblical Guide (8 Vols.), by Rev. John Urquhart.

The Source of the Blue Nile, by Arthur J. Hayes, L.S.A.

Stones Crying Out, by L. N. R.

The Fall of Babylon Foreshadowed, by Rev. John Cumming, D.D.

Palmyra and Zenobia, by Dr. William Wright.

The Bible and How to Read It (4 Vols.), by Rev. John Urquhart.

The Unknown Life of Christ, by Nicolas Notovitch.

The Sacred Books of the East, edited by Max Müller (24 Vols.).

The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined, by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal.

Rawlinson's Herodotus (3 Vols.).

A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Middle Ages, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, Stanley Lane Poole, J. G. Milne and J. P. Mahaffy (5 Vols.).

Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates, by J. P. Peters, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D. (2 Vols.).

Rivers of Life, or Faiths of Man, by J. G. R. Forlong (2 Vols. and chart).

Asiatic Researches, by A. H. L. Heeven (2 Vols.).

The Birds of the Bible, by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S.

Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus, by D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt.

Palestine in the Time of Christ, by Edmund Stupfer, D.D.

The Giant Cities of Bashan, by Rev. J. L. Porter.

The Biblical Keepsake, by Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D.

The Story of the Last Days of Jerusalem, by Rev. Alfred J. Church, M.A.

My Tour in Palestine and Syria, by F. H. Deverell.

The Land of Israel, by H. B. Tristram, M.A., F.L.S., etc.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, by William Smith, LL.D.

The Rob Roy on the Jordan, by J. Macgregor, M.A.

Under the Syrian Sun (2 Vols.), by A. C. Inchbold.

A Journey to Damascus, by Viscount Castlereagh, M.P.

History of the Plagues of Egypt, by Thomas S. Millington.

The Great Sahara, by H. B. Tristram, M.A., F.L.S., etc.

The Story of the Pharaohs, by Rev. James Baikie, F.R.A.S.

Egypt and the Holy Land, by Rev. J. A. Spencer, M.A.

Jerusalem the Holy City, by Mrs. Oliphant.

The Land of Gilead, by Laurence Oliphant.

Eothen, Travels in Turkey, Syria and Palestine, by Kinglake.

The Holy Land, Egypt, Constantinople, Athens, etc. A series of photos. taken for H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, by Francis Bedford, with descriptive text by W. M. Thompson.

An Artist's Walks in Bible Lands, by Henry A. Harper.

The Holy Land, painted by John Fulleylove, R.I.; described by John Kelman, M.A.

From Damascus to Palmyra, by John Kelman, M.A., D.D., painted by Margaret Thomas.

Bible Animals, by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S.

Scripture Illustrated by Engravings, by The Religious Tract Society.

Travels in Ethiopia, by G. A. Hoskins, Esq.

Palestine Illustrated, by Sir Richard Temple.

Whiston's Josephus (Vol. I, 1825 edition), by Rev. S. Burder.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE EXCAVATIONS AT 'AIN SHEMS, JUNE-JULY, 1912.

BY DUNCAN MACKENZIE, PH.D.

FRIENDS of the Palestine Exploration Fund who were present at the General Meeting on June 11th will have learned about the results of the excavations at Beth-shemesh up to the end of May from the reports read by Sir Charles Watson on that occasion. A summary of these has since appeared in the account of the Meeting published in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, pp. 124-8.

We had already in the course of last year brought out the interesting evidence that Beth-shemesh had stood a great siege in the course of its history, but could not say who were the besiegers.

Convincing traces of this siege were visible enough in the great mass of burnt *débris* fallen from the battlements and houses on the wall that filled up the South Gate of the city.

Nobody ever passed through the gateway after that siege, and its blocking of burnt *débris* was destined to remain there throughout the centuries until the buried city was once more revealed to view. That tell-tale filling of the gateway was surely the very end of all things at Beth-shemesh.

But no! And this was one of the surprises of this year's excavations at 'Ain Shems. Another city revealed itself rising above the ruins of the earlier one to which belonged the gateway; and this earlier city with its gateway had been buried away, as if it had never existed.

But there was a further surprise. For not only did this later city cover up the gateway beneath its foundations but it never seems to have built its fortifications again. It was not allowed to do so; and this was apparently one of the conditions of peace after the siege. Beth-shemesh was henceforth one of the unfenced cities of Judah. But who were the besiegers? Last year we could not even guess, this year we have got so far as to think they may have been the Israelites. If so, they seem to have allowed the native Canaanite population to rebuild their city on condition that they did not fortify it.

The most important results, however, from the point of view of the general history of Beth-shemesh were brought out in the course of our explorations in the central region of the city. In the trenches here the finds revealed a foreign influence—of Egypt and Crete in the earliest period, giving place in the second to the less adventitious but equally intrusive influence of the Philistines. In fullness of time the Philistines are found surrendering their leading rôle to the advancing power of Israel, and it was apparently the Israelites who were dominant at Beth-shemesh in the last period of her history. The discoveries that went to indicate this course of history were made just in time to be reported on at the General Meeting.

But these are matters of sequence in the strata, and although they fascinate the archaeologist they rarely appeal keenly to persons not expert in such questions. Yet there is hardly ever an important site awaiting excavation that has not its own surprises to startle the archaeologist out of his reckonings and send a thrill through every visitor however casual. This was what happened at Beth-shemesh. But it was after that General Meeting. It was just as London was seeking repose from strenuous labours of the city in country haunts of the woodland and of growing corn, and they of Beth-shemesh had already reaped and gleaned their wheat harvest and were now busy in the threshing-floors of the valley.

It happened on this wise. We had set out a great new trench in the Central Area of the City whose outlook was meant this time to be more directly towards the all-important South Gate of the City and less exactly central than the previous one. The North side of the new trench was to be on the line of Mr. Newton's great East-West Section of the site while the North-South Section was to pass through the middle of the trench from its north border in a direction which made straight for the South Gate. It might be that the new trench would add nothing new to the record of the stratification previously obtained in the other trench, but after the experience gained there, we considered it to be of importance to have this record on the Section.

On a tell or mound site, like most of those that are of interest in Palestine, it is usually impossible from surface indications to guess what lies beneath. If one is an expert in observing such pottery as lies on the surface, or can be brought into view by means of a test-pit going down to the rock, one can say in a general way

to what period the site belongs. But this superficial method hardly ever reveals what is individual and exceptional, and never yields up the surprises of a site except by purest chance. Sometimes the surprise is close alongside, and is just missed by such a test-pit.

Our orientations were lines of section across the middle of the site, North-South, East-West. It was a mere happy chance that our North-South line, starting in the North region of the city, happened in its course Southward to make straight for the South Gate, yet the South Gate had not then been discovered.

It was, however, not chance that determined the position of the new trench. Here the orientation of a straight line passing North into the heart of the city from the South Gate was our intentional starting point. It was chosen because it was expected that an important central region of the city must lie somewhere due North from the gateway. Our archaeological orientation line going North from the South Gate was found to fit in with Mr. Newton's previously laid out North-South Section line so closely that they could be said to coincide. The Fellahin always believe that the setting out of such lines is European magic and the question now was: what would be found to reveal itself on our mystic line and on its right and left?

Already, at the surface, certain differences were noted which we had not observed elsewhere. On very superficial house-floors, types of pottery and other objects occurred which seemed to be somewhat later than the characteristic ceramic forms of the chamber-tombs with divans, of the North-West Necropolis. But the *débris* was grey and earthy, and there was no sign of burnt bricks, such as were so characteristic of the burnt city of the Israelite period. It looked for the moment as if a village of squatters had been set up in the ruins after Beth-shemesh had been destroyed by fire and sword.

In the Israelite stratum proper it was all the more easy to be on the look-out for what might be exceptional, because the phenomena of stratification which we had observed elsewhere were faithfully repeated here.

Towards the middle of the trench, however, there was a difference, and this was of quite an extraordinary character. One by one, five pillars, lying on their sides as if they had been knocked down, came into view. One on the East side was broken in two as if it had been purposely smashed. The one in the middle lay East-West, and it

certainly was a strange coincidence that our magic North-South line passed through its middle, and also, as exactly as could be judged, through the very middle of the whole group of pillars. By European magic we had conjured into the light of day the High Place of Beth-shemesh. And the lord of day was now looking down upon his forgotten sanctuary for the first time since that day of wrath and anger when haply Sennacherib and his army destroyed Beth-shemesh and the House of the Sun on their way to Lachish.

That these stones were the sacred pillars or baetyls of a High Place there could hardly be any doubt. They had the rounded tops usually characteristic of such pillars, wherever they occur; and the bases were flat for better standing. Three of the pillars had marks of tooling such as are quite unusual at Beth-shemesh, and this tooling for ceremonial reasons may have been carried out by means of stone implements. Two of the baetyls were flat like the head-stone of a tomb, and they were besides (unlike the others) of a rough-surfaced stratified kind of limestone which seemed foreign to the environments of Beth-shemesh. The sepulchral associations suggested by my comparison with the head-stone might at first sight appear out of place. But it should be remembered that in very early usage the sacred baetyl is often but a head-stone set up in veneration of the dead. The spirit of the departed is then imagined, on occasion, to take possession of his pillar on the performance of certain ceremonial and magic rites for that purpose. Did the ghost, from anger or displeasure, threaten to vex the living overmuch it could, with propitiative offerings, be banned again by the due enactment of counter-rites to that end.

It might very well be asked why particularly such a significance should be attached to the baetyls of Beth-shemesh. It was that when we first saw the pillars of the High Place we were at once startled by their extraordinary resemblance to certain pillars we had already discovered in association with the family tombs of the North-West Necropolis. The pillars here were found rolled up against the doors of the tombs, keeping these securely shut. The meaning of this may very well have been that, once the funeral rites were ended, the spirit of the departed could be banned and kept from inconvenient return by the symbolic and magic rite of keeping the door of the tomb closed by rolling up the sacred pillar against it. On the occasion of memorial or funereal feasts, when it was not only convenient but desirable that the spirit of the departed

ancestor or kinsman should be present, the pillar would be removed and ritually set up again, and the door opened. The spirit could then be called down to occupy his baetyl by performance of the appropriate magic rites. He would then be present at the feast or funeral as the case might be.

The further order in the development of religious ideas would be this. The pillar was originally set up to some remote ancestor afterwards held in veneration as head of the family. It would then become a pillar of the family. At this stage the pillar would be a sacred heirloom of the family or clan and be held in common. Not only so, but it could be used in common. For, by correct invocation of the name and accurate recital of the appropriate ritual, the spirits of other members of the family could now be called down to be present in the pillar, in the same way as that of the ancestor to whom the pillar was originally set up.

A final stage in pillar cult would be this. A tribe or clan would, in course of time, find itself in possession of several remote ancestors regarded as venerable. Each of these would have his sacred pillar. The canonization of these ancestors by common consent and hieratic sanction would ensue, and we should have whole alignments of sacred pillars set up, as at Gezer, and once more at Beth-shemesh.

The apotheosis of the canonized hero would be the last phase in a long process of religious development, and it would follow, according to the potency of the hero's influence in the affairs of living men. But the grim alternative to his entering the polytheistic pantheon and being adored as a divinity might on occasion very well be that he was deprived of his pillar temporarily, or even altogether, if he interfered with unpropitious or persistent malice in terrestrial affairs; or, what was worse, ceased to be operative at all.

The sacred pillar could now be used ritually to call down the presence of the divinity, just as it was previously made use of to conjure down the same person in the guise of ancestor or tribal hero. And, once this stage in religious practice was reached, the sacred baetyl could be further utilized to invoke the presence of a divinity who had never had any terrestrial history.

It was of interest now to see whether there would be any evidence of a continuity of sacred associations on the spot going back to earlier times.

The ruins that underlay the pillars of the High Place at first sight showed nothing to strike the eye. The usual painted Philistine pottery emerged in its proper context in this middle layer of Beth-shemesh. But at one point, to West of the High Place, we were surprised to find this context disturbed by an unaccountable intrusion of Aegean and Cypriote sherds that properly belonged to an earlier stratum and period. We noticed, however, that they occurred on the borders of a circle of stones, and we had to conclude that the sherds must have been dug up when the circle was built. This

itself had a significant appearance and the circle looked like a shaft to something below.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the High Place in the South-East region of the trench, we had penetrated beneath the deposits of the Philistine Period, had worked our way down through a dense white stratum of limestone *d'bris* to the earliest deposits beneath; and when the rock was reached at last, this gaped on one side towards the South. We were underground, beneath earliest Beth-shemesh and in the bowels of the earth. What revealed itself to our astonished eyes after a little clearing was a burial cave with all the paraphernalia of the cult of the dead there in position as they had been left thousands of years ago. In the dim light we could see that the cave extended Westward, so as apparently to come beneath the area of the High Place. It is impossible, then, not to ask whether the persons buried in the cave were not the ancestors to whom in later times was dedicated the cult of baetyls in the High Place of Beth-shemesh. It will be remembered that the sacred pillars of Gezer always remained standing on the rock. At Beth-shemesh, if there was continuity of cult and its pillars can be referred back to the earliest period, these must have been raised gradually as time passed and the level of the city rose, for they were found next the surface in the Israelite stratum. It became quite clear to us that all the possibilities opened up by these discoveries could not be dealt with now, for we were at the end of our financial resources and the unhealthy season at Beth-shemesh was upon us. Mr. Newton was already laid low with a severe attack of malaria, and our foreman of works, Jusuf Kanaan, was put *hors de combat* by fever in intermittent form, which still continues as I write.

As good luck would have it, Dr. Masterman of Jerusalem, Honorary Secretary of the Fund in Palestine, came down to see us, and he put us under a debt of gratitude by taking the invalids in hand at once.

The circle or parapet of stones on the West side of the High Place did not escape the vigilant eye of Dr. Masterman, and when the interior space was somewhat cleared, it was found to go down to a shaft through the rock, which we descended together by means of a ladder. The rock shaft had steps curving down spirally and sun-ways from the top on the West side, and where the steps stopped short, we were able, by going on all fours, to creep in beneath

from the shaft on the South side, when we found ourselves in the obscurity of a great hypogeum, or subterranean chamber—partly silted up with earth, which had penetrated through the shaft in the course of the ages. The hypogeum was divided into two parts by a partition of rock whose constructive function was, apparently, to give greater strength to the rock-roof.

The chamber being on the South side of the shaft through which we had descended, it could be seen that the part to East of the partition extended away beneath the pillars of the High Place. The slope of the earth silted down from the aperture was such that in the inmost recesses of the hypogeum we could stand upright and just touch the ceiling with our heads. But it could be seen at once that the complete exploration of the whole would take weeks, for all the earth would have to be carried up the shaft. There was no other exit that we could imagine and there did not now seem to be any connection whatever with the burial cave on the East side of the High Place. Was the hypogeum itself a burial chamber? And did the curious parapet going up from the rock-shaft to the level of the Second City suggest a continuity of tradition and a cult of buried ancestors extending to the time of the High Place of Beth-shemesh above? These were questions we could not answer, for the onslaught of malarial fever combined with the exhaustion of our funds were against us, and work would have to stop.

This we woefully confessed to ourselves as we ascended the shaft. Then, as we emerged from the bowels of the earth into the upper air, we heard once more the inspiring hum of our workmen's refrain: *Water of 'Ain Shems! Water for Deir-Aban!*

The well of 'Ain Shems and the intramural water supply of Beth-shemesh had been discovered in the adjoining trench, on the way towards the South Gate.

Thinking at once of Gezer the question now was whether there was any subterranean connection between the hypogeum we had left and this newly found well?

As a distinguished French savant said, who had just visited the site as these new discoveries were being made, "you have discovered the sanctuary of Beth-shemesh, and you are winding up your work with a most interesting point of interrogation."

And now may the excavators out here on the spot make a personal appeal?

They are confident, with their fellahin workmen, that they have

done all that "European magic" combined with the subtle arts of archaeology could do to penetrate to the true heart and inner mystery of Beth-shemesh.

It remains with friends of the Fund to be liberal with their subscriptions and the rest will be easy. We send them as greeting across Europe from old Beth-shemesh the stirring refrain of the fellahin: "Water of 'Ain Shems! Water for Deir-Aban!"

'AIN SHEMS,

August, 1912.

WEIGHTS OF ANCIENT PALESTINE.

By E. J. PILCHER.

(Concluded from Q.S., July, p. 144.)

3. *The Assyrian Standard.*

The Mediterranean systems, whether Greek, or Phoenician, must ultimately have been derived from Babylonia, where the table started from the *she'u*, or grain, and ran:—

180 grains make one shekel (*shiklu*),
60 shekels make one mina (*mana*),
60 minas make one talent (*biltu*),

the chief difference being that in the native home of the sexagesimal notation there was more consistency, and 60 shekels went to the mina, as well as 60 minas to the talent; just as in the measurement of time, 60 seconds still make one minute, and 60 minutes one hour.

The Babylonian system of metrology is of great antiquity, and we find it firmly established in the reign of Dungi, king of Ur (about 2400 B.C.), whose long reign was a very important one. Dr. King informs us that "in Ur, too, we obtain evidence of an important administrative reform, by the recovery of three weights for half a maneh, two manehs and twelve manehs respectively. The inscription upon one of these states that it had been tested and

passed as of full weight in the sealing-house dedicated to Nannar. Dungi, in fact, introduced a uniform standard of weights for use in at least the Babylonian portion of his empire, and he sought to render his enactments with regard to them effective by establishing an official testing-house at Ur, which was probably attached to the temple of the Moon-god, and conducted under the direction of the central priesthood. Here the original standards were preserved, and all local standards that were intended for use in other cities had, no doubt, to be attested by the official inscription of the king. It may be added that in addition to the weights of his own period that have been recovered, a copy of one has survived, which was made after his standard in the Neo-Babylonian period.¹ This latter weight is deposited in the British Museum, and it bears a cuneiform inscription to the effect that it was made by Nebuchadrezzar the Great (604-561 B.C.) according to the standard of the mina of Dungi. There is also a weight on the same standard, inscribed in Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, with the name of Darius Hystaspes (521-485 B.C.), so that from Dungi to the Persian period the genealogy is complete.

We call this system the "Assyrian Standard" because it was first accurately made known to us by the series of Assyrian weights brought by Sir Henry Layard from Nineveh, and ranging in date from 720-680 B.C. By a comparison of these examples it was established that the royal Assyrian standard mina was 7,800 grains Troy. It is no part of the present essay to discuss the relations of this mina with the weight standards of the Mediterranean. Dr. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in 1889 propounded a very ingenious theory by which he sought to prove that all these other standards were derived from the Babylonian by a kind of arithmetical progression, and it is very striking to see how well many of them do fit into the framework devised by the learned German metrologist; but for our purpose we need only remark that the Persian king, Darius Hystaspes, received from his Babylonian predecessors the mina of 7,800 grains Troy, and struck his gold coinage upon it. Thus his gold piece was a Babylonian shekel, and weighed 130 grains:—

$$7,800 \div 60 = 130 \text{ grains.}$$

We do not know what was the Persian name for this gold

¹ *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, by Leonard W. King (London, 1910). p. 294.

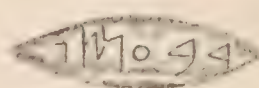
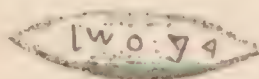
shekel, but the Greeks called it a *ἐσπετικός* (from *ἑσπεῖος*) and we style it a daric.

If Darius had divided his mina into fifty parts in the Graeco-Phoenician way we should then have had a unit of 156 grains,

$$7,800 \div 50 = 156 \text{ grains,}$$

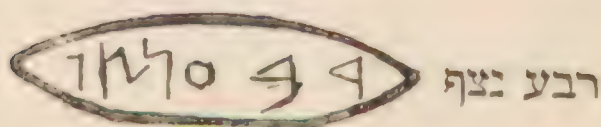
but no such unit was known until quite recently.

In 1890 Dr. Thomas Chaplin was travelling near Samaria, when his donkey-boy offered an "*antika*" for his inspection. The "*antika*" was a small black hematite spindle, about an inch long, with some



Ancient Weight from Samaria.

strange letters upon it, and Dr. Chaplin gave the boy a silver *mejidieh*, and brought the little object to England, where it was seen that it bore two inscriptions in Phoenician, or Old Hebrew characters. The writing on one side of the weight was partly obliterated, but the letters on the other side were better preserved. These two inscriptions were at first read as—



and they were a great puzzle to scholars for many years, until in 1902 Dr. Lidzbarski solved the riddle (*Ephem.*, I, p. 13). for in studying Semitic palaeography, Dr Lidzbarski had come to the conclusion that the old Phoenician letter *sade*, *ש*, was really a development of the *shin*, *ש*, by the lengthening of the first stroke, and he perceived that on Dr. Chaplin's weight the converse had been done. The workman had first of all written *צ* and then rubbed out part of the stroke, and so left something that might be read as *ש*. What had happened was that the engraver had carelessly omitted the letter *nun*, and had written *רבע צף*. Then, observing the error, he had smoothed the surface of the stone, and engraved

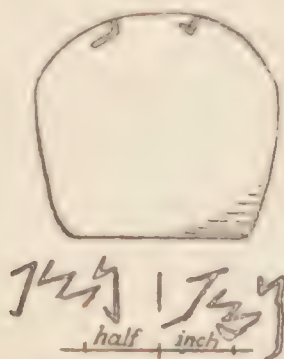
the correct words. רבע נֶזֶף, on the other side. The workman could not rub away very much because that would have made the weight too light to be of use, and therefore he left traces of the earlier inscription, which misled scholars for years. Consequently there was no justification for the furious controversy which raged in 1893 and 1894 over this little relic of antiquity, which weighs 39·2 grains, and now reposes in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

רבע is the ordinary Hebrew word for quarter, but נֶזֶף is an entirely new combination. We do not even know how it was pronounced; but, for the purpose of transliteration, it has provisionally been vocalized as *neseph*, so that Dr. Chaplin's weight was a "quarter *neseph*." In Arabic a very similar form نصف, *nisf*, is the ordinary word for half, but this does not help us to explain the Hebrew: it only adds a deeper mystery.

In 1892 Mr. Herbert Clark, the American Vice-Consul at Jerusalem, was shown some antiquities by a peasant who had opened an ancient grave at 'Anata (the Biblical Anathoth), a little to the north of Jerusalem, and there found the remains of a string of beads. The end bead was of common stone of a reddish-yellow colour, and instead of being perfectly globular, like most beads, it was almost hemispherical, and had engraved upon it the three letters נֶזֶף; in fact, the same strange word as had been noted on Dr. Chaplin's weight. The bead only weighed 134 grains, whereas the complete *neseph* ought to be about 156·8, if the Chaplin weight were a quarter of it; but probably the difference was due to loss of substance in drilling the hole for threading the bead on a string. M. Clermont-Ganneau made the very happy suggestion that some person in ancient times had come across this Old Hebrew weight, and, seeing the unfamiliar writing upon it, he had concluded that it possessed some magical virtue. He had therefore drilled a hole through the stone and suspended it at the end of a string of beads, in order to preserve the good luck of the magical inscription.

In 1899 Dr. Bliss and Mr. R. A. S. Macalister were engaged in the excavation of an ancient site called *Tell Zakariya*, and at a depth of five or six feet from the surface they found three inscribed dome-shaped stone weights, each bearing this mysterious word נֶזֶף on the top of it. The first was of red stone and weighed 157·5 grains. The second was of white limestone and weighed 154·3 grains, and

the third was of a light red colour and weighed 145·8 grains, but the two latter specimens were somewhat chipped and broken.¹



Inscribed Weight from Tell Zakariya.

In 1902 Prof. George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, happened to be in Jerusalem, and he there purchased another example. It was of the usual domed shape, with a flat bottom, and was made of reddish-grey marble. It weighed 153·5 grains, and was in excellent preservation. On the top it bore the word חמש, but unfortunately the dealer could not give any information as to where it came from.

In 1906 Prof. Barton was again in Jerusalem, and on looking through Mr. Herbert Clark's collection he noticed a small bronze weight that had been bought from an old woman in Samaria. It was in the shape of a tortoise, and upon the oval back was the Old



Bronze Weight.

(Reproduced, with kind permission, from the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.)

Hebrew inscription חמש "five." The little tortoise weighed 38·58 grains, and this is so close to the weight of Dr. Chaplin's example (also discovered in Samaria) that we must conclude that the two articles represent the same thing, and that the *negeph* was divisible into twenty units; so that the fourth part could be

¹ In *Q.S.*, 1899, p. 183, these two latter specimens were estimated as about 9·5 and 9 grammes respectively, but they were afterwards weighed with greater accuracy at Jerusalem, and the correct figures are given in Bliss and Macalister's *Excavations*, p. 145.

inscribed either "quarter *nešeph*" or "five" (*i.e.*, five-twentieths of a *nešeph*). The little relic is in excellent preservation, and is covered with a thin hard patina. The form of the weight is an interesting one, for the tortoise was sacred to the Phoenician Astarte, who, among her other functions, figured as the goddess of trade, and the reptile also had some connection with the Greek Aphrodite, who is often represented in ancient art with one foot upon a tortoise. The Phoenician symbol became the badge, or armorial bearing, of the island of Aegina, which was probably at one time a Phoenician settlement, and when the people of Aegina instituted a coinage, the most conspicuous type upon it was the figure of the Aeginetan tortoise. The Aeginetans were the great traders of early Hellas, and their standard of weight was very widely spread; although in historic times it was gradually supplanted by the Athenian, or Attic, standard. Aegina was the first to introduce the coinage of silver into European Greece, and the Aeginetan stater of 194 grains was issued in large quantities, and was for a long time a kind of international currency in all the Greek states, and the *χάλαιαι* (as they were called) are frequently mentioned in ancient inscriptions.

But to return to our *nešeph*. We have seen that up to the present seven specimens of this standard have been discovered, and we may arrange them as follows:—

Inscription.	Weight.	Condition.
I. נצף	157·56	Perfect.
II. נצף	154·3	Damaged.
III. נצף	145·8	Damaged.
IV. נצף	134	Pierced.
V. נצף	153·5	Perfect.
VI. רבע נצף	39·2	Perfect.
VII. חמש	38·58	Perfect.

This list will demonstrate the difficulties which beset the metrologist in endeavouring to arrive at an accurate knowledge of ancient weights, for it will be seen that the difference between the heaviest and the lightest specimens is no less than sixteen per cent. However, three of them must be discarded because they are obviously defective, and the two remaining examples of the complete weight are 157·56 grains and 153·5 grains respectively, giving a

mean of 155.5 grains, which can only represent the fiftieth part of the Babylonian mina ; for we have noted above that such a fiftieth part would be about 156 grains Troy. Thus, this new standard is not a Hebrew shekel, neither is it a Babylonian shekel, but it is a fresh division of the mina of 7,800 grains by people who preferred to divide by fifty, rather than adopt the sexagesimal division of Babylonia. Consequently the new unit required a new name, and it was called a *nešeph* ; but where this word came from, or what it means, is more than we can say.

4. *The Persic Standard.*

The gold coins of Darius Hystaspes represented a considerable value in antiquity, for the money of that period had a very much greater purchasing power than ours. The Babylonian shekel, or daric, of 130 grains, would be worth about 23s. of our money ; reckoning pure gold at £4 4s. 11½*d.* per ounce ; for we must remember that the English sovereign of 123 grains is only 22 carats fine, while the daric was of nearly pure metal. Twenty-three shillings meant very much more then than now. Cyrus the Younger paid his Greek soldiers at the rate of a daric a month (*Anab.*, I, iii, 21), and out of this the man had to find his arms and equipment, and provide rations, etc., for himself and one or two camp-followers. His first necessity, therefore, would be to change his daric into something smaller. To provide smaller change Darius issued a silver currency, but instead of coining the silver on the same standard as the gold, he struck it upon a new basis, in accordance with the then accepted ratio between gold and silver. This ratio was $13\frac{1}{3} : 1$. It may be thought that the commercial science of the Babylonians had reached a very delicate stage of perfection to fix on such a peculiar fraction as $13\frac{1}{3}$, but it is to be feared that the figure in question was not dictated by commercial requirement, but by religious ideas. To explain this more fully we must refer to the essay published by Dr. Winckler, some years ago, on the cosmic ideas of the Babylonians, in which he endeavoured to show that the ancient Chaldeans imagined that everything on earth had its counterpart in the skies. Thus, this world was supposed to be built in seven stages, to correspond with the seven heavens. The earthly river, Euphrates, was but a copy of the heavenly river of the stars, which we call the Milky Way, and the terrestrial Babylon was built exactly beneath

the celestial Babylon, and was, as far as possible, a copy of it. Not merely were these resemblances to be found in material things: they extended also to the ideal. The heavenly luminary, the sun, had its counterpart in the precious metal, gold—an association which persisted to much latter times; for the astronomical symbol ☉ stood for “gold” in mediæval chemistry. The brilliant metal, silver, was the counterpart of the shining moon; and the sign ☾ meant “moon” to the astronomer, and “silver” to the chemist. Gold is more valuable than silver, and the sun is more important than the moon; but the exact proportion of the one to the other is not easy to determine. The course of the sun through the heavens is not so rapid as that of the moon. For Sol takes about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days to make a complete circuit, and Luna about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. The want of proportion between these two sets of figures was the despair of calendar-makers for ages, and the ancient astronomers assumed for theoretical purposes a round year of 360 days, and a round month of 27 days. The round year still survives in mathematics and astronomy as the 360 degrees of the circle, and the round month passed from Babylonia into Indian astronomy, where it originated the so-called lunar zodiac, divided into twenty-seven *Nakshatras*, or the twenty-seven Mansions of the Moon. The round month and the round year have the advantage of presenting a distinct ratio to one another, for:—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{☉} & : & \text{☾} \\ \text{as } 360 & : & 27 \\ \text{so is } 13\frac{1}{3} & : & 1 \end{array}$$

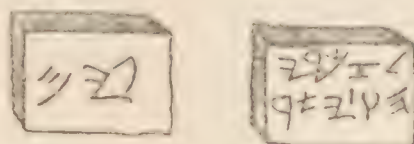
and as gold was associated with the sun, and silver with the moon, it followed, according to Babylonian ideas, that if the path of the sun were $13\frac{1}{3}$ times greater than the path of the moon, therefore the value of gold must be $13\frac{1}{3}$ times the value of silver. We may think this an extraordinary method of arriving at comparative values, but there is no denying the fact that this was the ratio at the time of the invention of coinage. How much earlier it existed we do not know, although Dr. F. Hultsch says: “In Babylonia, and in the adjacent countries following the same standard, the ratio of $13\frac{1}{3}$ was accepted from the earliest times.”¹ Without going so far back as that, however, we may say that it was accepted by Croesus, king of Lydia (568–554 B.C.), when he superseded the earlier electrum

¹ *Die Gewichte des Alterthums* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 17.

coinage by the issue of pure gold and pure silver. Electrum appears to have been used as a precious metal in Asia Minor, because the alloy occurs there naturally. But in practice the percentage of gold and silver varies very materially, so that there must have been great uncertainty as to the trade value of any given electrum stater. Croesus surmounted the difficulty by separating the two metals, and striking coins entirely of gold and entirely of silver. The gold was on the Lydian standard of 126 grains to the stater, and the silver on a standard of 168 grains to the stater. In the same way, when Darius Hystaspes instituted his new coinage, he issued his gold on the Assyrian standard, but the silver was adjusted to a different weight, in the ratio of $13\frac{1}{3} : 1$. Thus :

$$130 \times 13\frac{1}{3} = 1,733 \text{ grains,}$$

or, in other words, 1,733 grains of silver would purchase 130 grains of gold. 173.3 grains of silver would therefore be one-tenth of a daric, and a coin of this weight is called a "Persic silver stater." The half stater, weighing about 86.5 grains (nearly one grain lighter than the present English shilling), was known to the Greeks as a *σίγλος*, and was preferred by them because it was more or less parallel to the drachma.



Old Hebrew Weight.

(Reproduced, with kind permission, from the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.)

In 1902 a boy was walking over a field just outside Jerusalem when he picked up a small piece of metal, and, seeing it had some strange characters upon it, he took it to a dealer in antiquities. A few days later the dealer sold it to Prof. Barton, who saw that the writing was Old Hebrew. On one side he read לזכריהו יאר, "of Zechariah (son of) Jair," which he recognized as being familiar Scripture names. On the other side he saw the three letters פים, which were quite unintelligible. Prof. Barton has very courteously had the object carefully reweighed for the purpose of this paper, and it has been ascertained to be 117.431 grains Troy. It is made of a brassy kind of bronze in the form of an irregular cube $\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times $\frac{5}{8}$ in. \times $\frac{5}{8}$ in., though at one end the thickness is reduced to





$\frac{1}{4}$ in. It is in excellent preservation, and has oxidized so very slightly that the weight cannot be considered as having been affected thereby.

In 1907 Mr. Macalister found at Gezer a stone weight of the usual domed shape weighing 112.19 grains, and marked פִּים, like Prof. Barton's specimen, so that this is the second example.

פִּים is another unknown word, and we can only vocalize it provisionally as *payam*, until we know more about it. The mean of the two *payam* weights is 114.81 grains Troy, which is practically two-thirds of the Persic silver stater.

$$173.3 \times \frac{2}{3} = 115.5 \text{ grains.}$$

5. *The Egyptian Standard.*

We have glanced at the weight standards of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Persians; but there is one important country that has not yet been mentioned, and that is Egypt. The most ancient known Egyptian system is called the "Gold Standard," because many of the weights bear the hieroglyph  *nub*, "gold." They range between 190 and 215 grains, giving a mean of 202.5 grains for the norm unit. This gold standard goes back to the "Pre-dynastic" period, for Dr. Petrie found examples in the tombs of King Sma and King Zer. In later times we have the better known *kedet* or *kut*   which passed into Coptic as **KIT** or **KITE**. The Egyptian multiplication table ran "10 *kedets* make one *deben* .

There is no mina or talent, so that it is doubtful whether this Egyptian system had any connection with Babylonia. It may have been a native invention, but the silence of the Egyptian monuments conceals its origin from us. For although balances were certainly in use from the earliest periods, and we find them figured in tombs of the Vth dynasty, yet the weights themselves are scarcely noticed until the XVIIIth dynasty (circa 1700 B.C.). The *kedet* was then in sole possession of the field, and it is practically the only standard mentioned on the monuments, and its use can be traced down through the demotic papyri into the Coptic period. The *kedet* varies between 136 and 156 grains, giving a mean of 146.

In the spring of 1901, the American Orientalist, Prof. Charles C. Torrey, was in Jerusalem, and he there purchased a stone weight

with an Old Hebrew inscription upon it, which he read as בקע *beka'*. This specimen was of the usual domed form, made of red marble with a specific gravity of 2.658, and weighed 90.58 grains. Unfortunately the native dealer had no knowledge of where it came from.



Old Stone Weight.

(Reproduced, with kind permission, from the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.)

In 1904 Mr. Macalister found at Gezer a domed stone weight, also inscribed בקע, and weighing 94.27 grains.

In 1905 a fellah picked up a little stone weight while working on his field at *Rās ṣālah*, near *Shāfat*, about two miles north of Jerusalem. He gave it to Dr. Dalman who read upon it the word בקע. It is of the usual domed shape, rather roughly made, in yellowish stone with brown veins, and weighs 102.6 grains.

Taking the mean of the heaviest and the lightest of these specimens, we get a value of 96.59 grains; and as the drachma of Aegina weighed 97 grains, it looks at first sight as if we must refer the *beka'* to the Aeginetan standard. In fact, if these objects had been found in Greece, more especially European Greece, there would have been no other alternative. But, on the other hand, it is difficult to see how a Greek standard could have penetrated into Palestine—at any rate before the time of Alexander. We have already noticed the antiquity and persistence of the Phoenician standard along the Mediterranean sea-board. To the north of Palestine there were the equally strong Perso-Babylonian systems, and to the south there was the Egyptian; so that there was practically no opening for a Greek standard, even though it had the antiquity and range of the Aeginetan. But there is no necessity to look to Greece, for the Egyptian *kedet* weighed about 146 grains, and two-thirds of this is 97.2 grains, which is sufficiently near to the mean weight of the *beka'*.

The word בקע, *beka'*, is of some interest, because it actually occurs in the Hebrew Bible. נפק and פים are quite strange, but

in Genesis xxiv, 22, we read that the servant of Abraham gave Rebecca a gold ring of a *beka'* weight; and in Exodus xxxviii, 26, we have mention of a poll-tax of a *beka'* a head, which is defined as half a shekel. *Beka'* itself, however, has no such meaning as "half," as far as we can discover. The root possesses the general significance of cleaving or dividing, and thus a *beka'* might be any fraction or division. The proper Hebrew word for half is *חצי*, as it appears upon the Jewish half-shekels, and these silver half-shekels weigh somewhere about 110 grains, so that they do not agree with the *beka'* weights that have been discovered in Palestine.

It should also be noted that the ancient versions do not appear to have read any such word as *beka'* in the two passages we have just quoted. In Genesis xxiv, 22, the Septuagint says that the servant gave "golden earrings, each of a drachma weight," *ἐντέτια χρυσᾶ ἀνὰ δραχμὴν ὀλκῆς*.

The Vulgate has "golden earrings weighing two shekels," *inaures aureas appendentes siclos duos*; so that neither the "LXX" nor Jerome follow our Massoretic text. Exodus xxxviii, 26, in the Hebrew, corresponds with Exodus xxxix, 2, in the Greek, and the latter runs "one drachma a-piece, even the half-shekel according to the holy shekel," *δραχμὴ μία τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ σίκλου, κατὰ τὸν σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον*; but it is not at all certain that this indicates any such word as *beka'*, for in the parallel, Exodus xxx, 13, the tax is defined as "half a didrachma, which is, according to the didrachma of the sanctuary," *τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου ὃ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ διδράχμον τὸ ἅγιον*; and as a didrachma was a piece of two drachmas, it is obvious that half a didrachma could only have meant one drachma. The Vulgate of Exodus xxxviii, 25-26, differs slightly from the Massoretic text, and Jerome does not seem to have had any such word as *beka'* in the Hebrew version from which he made his translation. Of course we cannot lay much stress upon any such apparent discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Graeco-Latin versions, but the facts deserve consideration.

6. *The Philippic Silver Standard.*

We have already seen that the Asiatic ratio between silver and gold was calculated in the proportion of $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, so that, when the gold daric of 130 grains was in use, the silver stater was taken as

173·3 grains. But the time arrived when the Persian daric no longer circulated; for in 331 B.C. Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian Empire, and introduced the Attic gold stater. Attic gold staters had been coined before, but they were not of much account commercially, because the currency of Greece was a silver one; but about 358 B.C. Philip of Macedon came into possession of the gold mines of Philippi, which are said to have yielded three millions sterling per annum; and he commenced striking enormous quantities of gold coins on the Attic standard of 133 grains to the stater. These coins circulated over all the known world, penetrating even into Gaul and Britain. When, therefore, Alexander overthrew Darius Codomannus, and captured the treasures of the East, he and his generals minted both gold and silver into coins on the Attic standard; for they left commerce to adjust its own ratio between the two metals. The Asiatics could not abandon their celestial ratio of $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, but found themselves with a new gold unit. Consequently as—

$$133 \times 13\frac{1}{3} = 1773,$$

there was theoretically required a new silver stater of 177·3 grains, and this may be called the "Philipic Silver Standard." No actual coins appear to have been issued on this standard, but the money-changers of the East needed it when they were called upon to exchange silver for gold: hence a large series of weights that have been noticed in the *Quarterly Statement* from time to time. They are not inscribed in alphabetic writing, but they bear the sign Q, accompanied by other characters, which are probably numerals. This sign has been turned the other way up χ , and compared with the symbol of the Leitra ounce ($\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\iota\alpha$). The Leitra was extensively employed in Sicily and Southern Italy, down to a late period of the Roman Empire, and examples of this standard are preserved in various collections. There is an ounce weight in the British Museum marked χ A, and weighing 389 grains.¹ But the Leitra standard cannot well be reconciled with the Q weights of Palestine. These latter weights have been tabulated in a very convenient manner by Dr. Dalman, and if we translate Dr. Dalman's table into grains, it will run somewhat as follows:—

¹ Brit. Mus. Departmental Guides. *Greek and Roman Life* (London, 1908), p. 146, fig. 149.

$\frac{1}{3}$ unit, marked	ll =	59.25 grains.
1	Ql =	174.35 „
2	Qll =	378 „
3	=	536.65 „
4	QL =	688.26 to 709.87 grains.
8	Q \perp =	1388.88 to 1435.17 grains.
16	=	2779.45 grains.

If all Dr. Dalman's figures be added together, and averaged, it will be found that they give a mean of 11.5 grammes, or 177.45 grains for the unit; so there can hardly be any reasonable doubt that we have here the "Philippic Silver Standard," or the silver equivalent of the Attic gold stater in the ratio of $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, which we have seen to be, theoretically, 177.3 grains.

It is probable that weights on this standard are to be found in other parts of the East besides Palestine, and in Dr. Petrie's collection there is an object described as a "basalt head of rough workmanship, probably intended to represent a lion. Weight 1,302 grains." On the forehead of this figure is a mark very similar to the \perp which Dr. Dalman takes as the numeral for eight, so that it is not at all improbable that Dr. Petrie's basalt head is merely an exceptionally light example of the same standard.

7. Conclusion.

From the point of view of history, the use of these five standards is quite natural and intelligible. The Phoenician standard, as exemplified in the Jewish silver shekels, requires no comment. In 586 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar II captured Jerusalem, and put an end to the Jewish monarchy, so that the Babylonian mina could easily become the legal weight of the country. The Babylonian Empire was succeeded by that of the Persians, until in 331 B.C. Alexander the Great became supreme in Asia, and established the Attic standard. In the foregoing sections explanations have been offered for the *Nis ph* standard and the Q weights, which may be considered to fit in with the historical requirements; but, although the *parqam* and the *beka'* seem also to be accounted for, there is the difficulty that they are merely fractional units; and we are confronted with the problem of explaining the peculiar division of two-thirds for the Persian stater and the Egyptian *kabet*. Such a fraction appears to be foreign to the Old Testament literature, although we do meet

with one-third ; the most prominent instance being Nehemiah x, 32, where a poll-tax of a third of a shekel is referred to. The passage raises two questions : first, as to why Nehemiah departed from the Mosaic precept of Exodus xxx, 13 ; and, secondly, as to where he got his shekel.

When Josephus was endeavouring to describe the Mosaic legislation to his Greek readers, he came to the point where the Jewish Legislator imposed a tax of half a shekel ; and, as he feared that the Grecians might not understand what was meant, Josephus was careful to explain that a shekel was equivalent to an Attic tetradrachm, or piece of four drachmas. There has been much learned discussion upon this simple equation, but it is probable that all the Jewish historian intended to do was to indicate a rough general comparison of the two things, as is often done nowadays. The Attic tetradrachms which have come down to us weigh about 266 grains, the silver shekels about 220, so that there is a considerable difference between them, and they can only be considered roughly parallel to one another. Yet there is evidence that this parallelism, or equivalence, of the tetradrachm and the shekel, was accepted by other people than Josephus. In the R.V. of Matthew xvii, 24-27, we are told that the collectors came to Peter and asked "Doth not thy Master pay the half-shekel?" and the apostle was afterwards directed to find a shekel in the fish's mouth, and pay the tax for two. But the margin reveals to us that no such words as shekel or half-shekel are to be found in the original. The Greek text asks "Doth not your Master pay the *didrachma*?" The didrachma, or piece of two drachmas, was of course the half of the tetradrachm, or piece of four drachmas ; and therefore the collectors, taking the shekel as roughly equivalent to the tetradrachm, demanded a didrachma, instead of a half-shekel. The Evangelist calls the piece of money found in the fish's mouth a stater ; because at this late period the word "stater" had lost much of its original significance, and was used for any standard current coin ; which, in the present case, was clearly a tetradrachm, or piece of four drachmas.

The drachma was the customary Greek coin unit at the time the Gospels were written, and we mentioned above that the Persian *siglos* was parallel to the drachma, and practically played the same part in the Persian system of currency. If, therefore, Josephus and the Gospels took a tetradrachm, or piece of four drachmas, as the

equivalent of the shekel; it is only natural to expect that Nehemiah would take the tetra-siglos, or four sigloi, as the equivalent of the same value. No such coin as a tetra-siglos is known, but of course it is impossible in this study to completely separate the ideas of coinage and of weight, and we are only to imagine that Nehemiah would take four sigloi or their equivalent in Persian silver (say 346 grains) as the parallel to the shekel. The Phoenician shekel as a coin weighed about 220 grains, but theoretically it represented 224·5 grains of silver: and half of that, *i.e.*, 112·25 grains compares very nicely with the third part of the tetra-siglos, which would be about 115·3 grains. We may thus see that the *third* part of a double stater, or tetra-siglos, is the nearest convenient fraction which would approach the half of the Phoenician shekel; and this may explain why Nehemiah adopted it; for, as a Persian official using a Persian currency, he cannot have had any Phoenician shekels to deal with, either as weights or as coins.

We were referring just now to the Gospel of Matthew. Mr. F. W. Read points out to me that in the Coptic version of this passage the amount of the tax is not called a didrachma as we might reasonably expect, seeing that the Coptic is usually a slavish rendering of the Greek; but the collectors come to Peter and demand a *kiti*, which of course is nothing else than the Coptic descendant of the Old Egyptian *kebet*, and the disciple is instructed to open the mouth of the fish and find a **ⲕⲁⲑⲉⲣⲓ** or stater. The form of this latter word is instructive. It is evident that the Coptic did not receive it direct from the Greek, because the Coptic pronunciation made no difficulty about any such collocation of consonants as **ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ**. It looks as if the Coptic received this form of the word from a Semitic source, for Semitic does not like such combinations of consonants, and would either prefix a vowel like *estater*, or drop one of the consonants and make it *sater*. An illustration of this is to be found in the Aramaic Inscription on the Talent of Abydos (*C.I.S.*, II, 108), where the word stater is written **ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ** exactly as in the Coptic. The full inscription runs: **ⲁⲛⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ ⲕⲁⲑⲉⲣⲓ ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ ⲕⲁⲑⲉⲣⲓ** "correct in accordance with the stater of silver."¹ Although these words are in Aramaic, the lion has the Greek letter A scratched upon his shoulder; so that it is only reasonable to suppose that the *Attic* silver stater is intended.

¹ *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, by Stanley A. Cook (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 23, 86.

In the Gospels the term stater is applied to the tetradrachm, but the true old Attic stater coin was a silver piece weighing 133 grains. Three thousand of these would make a talent of 399,000 grains; and, as the lion weight of Abydos in its present condition weighs 395,980 grains, there is little doubt as to the correct rendering of the Inscription.

But we are wandering from the subject of the present essay, which is the weights that have been found in Palestine. The point of real interest in the Coptic Gospel is the use of the word *kiti*, or *kedet*, to represent the Attic didrachma, which, in its turn, was the representative of the Judeo-Phoenician half-shekel. There is really nothing strange in this, for the Coptic scribes were merely following out an older principle; for Mr. F. L. Griffith informs us that "The Ptolemaic and Roman papyri render in Demotic the drachma by ' $\frac{1}{2}$ *kiti*,' while the tetradrachm is the 'stater' equated with 2 *kiti*." So that if an Egyptian Jew desired to conform to the precept of Nehemiah, and pay a tax of a third of the standard to the Temple, he would naturally follow the custom of Egypt, and calculate upon 2 *kedets* or 292 grains—

$$292 \div 3 = 97\cdot3 \text{ grains,}$$

and the *beka'* weight would thus be a third part of the Egyptian equivalent of the shekel.

Consequently the *payam* and the *beka'* take their places quite naturally in the history of Israel, the one being the Persian, and the other the Egyptian, equivalent of the third part of the shekel. We have no means of knowing how long the institutions and regulations of Nehemiah remained in force among the Jewish communities, for the Persian period is a rather dim one. The curtain lifts suddenly with the lurid tale of the Maccabean uprising, and the Hasmoneans went back to the Laws of Moses for guidance, so that we lose sight of the regulations of the Tirshatha, even if the changed condition of the times had not already caused them to be forgotten. Hence, when Josephus and the Evangelists came to write, there was no question of the third part of any standard; they were only concerned with the Mosaic half-shekel.

Thus the Hasmonean epoch shuts us off completely from the period of the little weights we have just been discussing, and, if our ascription of them to the different metrological standards be correct, they must all be later than the Fall of the Jewish State.

This view of their date has already been reached by Mr. Stanley A. Cook on palaeographic grounds (*Q.S.*, 1909, p. 292), and he has remarked differences in their epigraphy which are not surprising; for, from Nebuchadrezzar to Alexander there was a lapse of two centuries and a half, and Palestine witnessed some revolutionary changes which must have made a deep mark on the life and habits of the people.

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THE DAMASCUS GATE, OR BAB EL-AMUD.

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THE history of the famous gate is of great importance in connection with the new theory of Calvary. An excellent illustration of it faces p. 32 of Mr. Franklin's work entitled *Palestine* (1911). The photograph should be examined in connection with the *Plan of Jerusalem*, facing p. 31. Mr. Franklin states the common belief of most archaeologists, including Dr. Robinson, that there has since Roman times always been a gateway at this spot. This has been proved or rendered highly probable by several excavations made on both sides of the gate at various times during the past sixty years. Sir Charles Watson considers that this gate may have been in existence in the famous Third Wall constructed by Agrippa. *The Story of Jerusalem* (1912), p. 102.

The Arabs call this gate by the old name of Bab el-Amud, the Pillar Gate, or the Gate of the Columns, because in Herod's time a street ran through the city, flanked with pillars, or columns, from this point near to where Zion Gate now stands. (See Mr. Franklin's Plan, p. 31, and Illustration, p. 54.) A few fragments of these columns still remain, and their existence is shown in the mosaic plan of Jerusalem discovered in 1896 at Medeba, and described in the pages of the Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement*, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, 1897, p. 213. This is the oldest plan of Jerusalem yet discovered, and it is considered by all archaeologists to be a relic of great public importance. If this gate stands on the old site of the Pillar Gate as it existed in the time of Herod the Great, it is a landmark of capital importance as fixing at least one spot of the probable course of the great Northern Wall of Jerusalem at that time. If it be argued that there is no proof that the Pillar Gate was in existence in the time of Herod the Great, and that it was more probably erected after the death of Christ by Herod Agrippa II, the answer is that there is no other main road leading

to or from the city except at the point where this gate stood. The existence of any other ancient outlet from the city *south of the Pillar Gate* has never yet been shown, and unless the fact of such a gate can be clearly proved, all probability seems to point to the conclusion that some gate, by whatever name it may have been called, was always in existence at this spot.

Assuming, then, that this ancient gateway is a fixed point, we may feel tolerably certain that it marks one point in the main course of the great Northern Wall of the city as it existed in the time of Christ, or at least in the time of Herod Agrippa II. Whether this wall was the original Second Wall described by Josephus, or the outer Third Wall constructed by Herod Agrippa II, has long been argued; but the opinion of the best authorities seems to be that there is at present no decisive evidence either way on the subject. It is easy to understand from these facts why the subject of the walls has long formed the favourite battle-ground of disputants on both sides. Dr. Robinson believed that the present North Wall of Jerusalem followed, approximately, for some portion of its course the line of the original Second Wall. This opinion was based partly on the rock levels tested at various points, which formed the natural and only secure foundation for the Northern Wall of the city, and (2) partly on the position of the great Northern Gateway, and the direction of the roads leading to it, both inside and outside the ancient city. Robinson thought that he could trace the probable course of the third or outer wall which was built to strengthen the defences of the city on this north side, and included, in his opinion, much of the open ground which lies between the present memorial buildings of St. Stephen and the Anglican Cathedral premises near the tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene, commonly known as the *Tombs of the Kings*.

There is a striking difference between Robinson's views of the probable course of this third or outer wall and the more recent views of the late Sir Charles Wilson and his followers who regard the line of the present North Wall as following approximately the course of Agrippa's Third Wall. Robinson's views on this subject are briefly discussed and rejected in Appendix VIII of Wilson's *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 203, 204; but it is obvious to anyone familiar with the ground, and with the levels of the Ordnance Survey Map before him, that if the Third Wall of Agrippa was built as suggested by Sir Charles Wilson, it was singularly weak, being

dominated at numerous points by elevated ground, the possession of which could scarcely fail to render the wall untenable. The section shown at p. 110 of Wilson's *Golgotha* makes the distance between the city wall and the rock scarp over Jeremiah's Grotto about 400 feet only, the altitude of the rock being given at about 2,549 feet, and of the present city wall about 2,529 feet above sea level. The old city wall at this point near the Damascus Gate was, as shown by numerous excavations, many feet lower than the level of the present city wall. Is it conceivable that Agrippa's wall, specially built to strengthen the defences of the city at this point, would ever have permitted its chief defence to be dominated by a hill only about 400 feet distant?

This is a question not so much of Military Engineering as of ordinary common sense; and there is in fact some evidence that this important hill above Jeremiah's Grotto has played an important part in the numerous assaults on the city, both in the siege of Titus, and later in the times of the Crusades. Those who accept Robinson's views on the subject of the second and third walls can easily understand why a third or outer wall was absolutely necessary under the circumstances shown to strengthen the defences of the city on this side; and the fact that the course of this outer wall cannot at present, with our existing knowledge, be proved is by no means conclusive against the general probability of Robinson's views.

These views have been strongly contested, not so much on their own intrinsic merits, but because of their obvious bearing on the controversy regarding the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre. The professional defenders of that site realized at once that if Dr. Robinson's views were even approximately correct, the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb, which lie far within the Second Wall and almost in the centre of the city, are no longer capable of rational defence. The landmarks mentioned in the well-known description of Josephus have been interpreted in various ways, and all who care to study the question may be interested, if not puzzled, by comparing the conflicting opinions recorded on the subject by all the learned authorities who have taken part in the discussion. Robinson, whether right or wrong, had one great advantage over most of his successors, because when he commenced his researches, about 1838, the new city which now forms such a conspicuous feature of the landscape on the north and north-west sides of the city had not then been built. He was able, as he thought at that

time, to obtain clear proof in the shape of massive foundations of the existence of the third or outer wall which lay far to the north of the present city wall. Many of these ancient traces have been obliterated or covered up in the course of erecting and enclosing the numerous houses, gardens, and private properties which now lie between the Damascus Gate and the so-called Tombs of the Kings. These buildings and enclosures have now for many years past rendered the work of exploration in this quarter increasingly difficult, and both inside and outside the city it is no longer possible for any explorer, however capable, to furnish any clear evidence, or to offer any certain opinion regarding the probable course of either of these two walls. For obvious reasons all confident opinions expressed on the subject of the ancient walls must therefore be treated with great caution, as the opinions of avowed or probable partisans for or against the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre. Those who pin their faith to ecclesiastical tradition are little likely to be convinced or even disturbed by any demonstration, however plausible, regarding the supposed course of the ancient walls, buried deep inside the city under mountains of débris, and inaccessible outside by the causes described. Those who regard these traditional sites as inherently incredible on their own merits, will consider the question of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre from a wholly different standpoint. They can never be persuaded (1) that Golgotha—the common place of Jewish Execution—ever occupied the impossible place now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; (2) that Christ was ever buried in the artificial marble-covered tomb on the floor of that Church which marks the spot where the “sacred cave” described by Eusebius is supposed to have been discovered in the time of Constantine. No arguments, however ingenious or plausible, can ever reconcile these radically divergent views, regarding which everyone who values his own liberty of private judgment must be left free to form his own opinion. But there is one view which has been independently expressed by several writers at different times, which seems in this connection to be worth consideration, as it throws light on many of the points that are now obscure, and serves at least to give a reasonable account of the origin of the famous tradition regarding the position of the Holy Sepulchre.

There are strong reasons to believe that the original idea was simply to build a church and tomb in perpetual memory of the death and burial of Christ. For this purpose it was necessary to

find some convenient spot inside Jerusalem where the buildings would be secure from attack, and could be most conveniently administered for the benefit of the Christian pilgrims and all the persons most directly concerned with the safety and protection of the memorial buildings. These essential conditions made it imperative that these buildings should be erected *within the walls* as they existed in the time of Constantine, on the most convenient site then available for the purpose. The churches were accordingly erected, and a memorial tomb was constructed on the site selected for the purpose, and when all this work, which must have required several years for completion, was quite ready, a grand dedication service was held for the public and formal consecration of these buildings. The memorial tomb was on that occasion, for the first time, officially declared to be the real Holy Sepulchre of Christ. The truth of the site was vouched for by the concurrent testimony of all concerned, and by the occurrence of an astounding miracle, the nature of which, though planned and carefully contrived beforehand, was only revealed on the actual day of dedication—September 14th, 336—namely, the “Invention of the True Cross,” at the very spot where the memorial tomb and churches had already been constructed. A holy site thus officially certified under the highest ecclesiastical and imperial auspices, and confirmed by the occurrence of an amazing miracle, was little likely to be disputed by anyone in the general excitement and circumstances of the time. The site was accordingly accepted with universal rejoicings. Numerous Papal bulls have confirmed its truth, and for all orthodox Roman Catholics belief in this site is compulsory as a solemn act of faith. The site has accordingly been accepted ever since by that section of the Christian Church which made itself responsible for the miraculous “Invention of the Cross,” and for all the consequences which have followed from the well-known facts narrated. Mr. Franklin quotes in this connection the statement of the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, who is one of the most learned Hebrew Christians of our day, and one who has made a special study of the antiquities of the Holy City. He thus writes regarding the Church of the Anastasis: “That it was first of all erected here as a memorial church of the event, and that in the course of ages it has come to be regarded as the actual site.” If the Holy Sepulchre be regarded simply as the historical memorial and monument of the death and passion of Christ, its position and general character may be con-

sidered as appropriate enough, without any reference to its reality as the actual place of Christ's burial and the true scene of Calvary. Viewed from this aspect, this world-famous Church of the Holy Sepulchre is entitled to the deepest respect and reverence of all professing Christians, whatever they may think of the miraculous "Invention," and the motives of those responsible. This sober and moderate view may safely be entertained by all persons without any reference to the mass of legend and ecclesiastical fiction which has probably done more to discredit the "holy places," and to alienate popular sympathy, than any *bona fide* difference of opinion regarding the intrinsic merits of the site. Those who accept this view may reasonably continue to feel the deepest interest in the Holy Sepulchre as an historical monument, combined with an earnest desire to ascertain by the light of modern research the real scenes of Christ's sufferings and death. The only class that is likely to suffer from any fresh light on this subject are those whose interest it is, for very obvious, if not creditable reasons, to adhere to the time-honoured but much shaken tradition. Judicious supporters of the new site have no desire to disturb the faith of those who are committed to the conservative and orthodox Roman Catholic view. They are quite content with the present position of a controversy which leaves the question of the real site absolutely open, and enables all who care to do so to study the question and form an independent judgment for themselves. No question of this grave nature can ever be decided by the simple formula—*Roma locuta est,—causa finita*. The real site has been hitherto concealed in the most simple but effectual way by the existence of a tradition which it was not possible to dispute without accurate knowledge of Jerusalem topography, based both on scientific exploration and topical accuracy. These conditions have now, for the first time, been supplied by the modern Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, and by the systematic examination by experts of the rock levels and of all existing relics of the ancient Holy City.

That further exploration, either inside or outside the city, will furnish any new light on the facts narrated seems for reasons already mentioned very doubtful, and those who care to study the question in detail must satisfy themselves as best they can, by a simple balance of probabilities. If the new site of Calvary be accepted, there seems to be little doubt of the general direction in which independent opinion on the subject of the new sites is now gradually tending. The future holds its own secrets, but if Calvary

has been proved, as many of the most learned explorers believe it to be, those who share this belief appear to hold the key of the whole problem, and can tell with quite sufficient accuracy where the real burial place of Christ must necessarily have been. (John xix, 41.) If the new theory of Calvary be a myth, it must with reason be admitted that they are probably right who think that the burial place of Christ, like that of Moses, is little likely to be ever discovered.

THE LOCALITIES OF THE EXODUS: AND A NEW EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

THE narrative of the Exodus contains a number of place-names which have given rise to a great deal of discussion, but have not yet been identified with any degree of certainty. Therefore a peculiar interest attaches to a demotic papyrus that has recently been published by Prof. Spiegelberg at Cairo, for it is neither more nor less than a gazetteer of the Delta, and gives a list of the localities of Lower Egypt. Unfortunately, the document is in a very bad state of preservation. The beginning of the roll has disappeared, as usual; and the top and bottom are torn away. The surface is stained with age, and the material has been worn into holes; so that, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of deciphering a demotic manuscript, there is often grave uncertainty as to what characters are to be read upon it. Such as it is, however, the new papyrus is of the greatest importance for a study of the geography of Ancient Egypt; the more so, perhaps, because it seems to give the popular or vulgar forms of the names of the places, rather than the ritual or sacred titles which are commonly found upon the monuments. Many of these names have a modern and familiar ring about them, as though the present Arabic designations were merely the corruptions, or translations, of the ancient appellations as they passed down through the Coptic into later times. We might reasonably expect this from the late date of the document; for it need hardly

be said that it belongs to the Ptolemaic period, and is probably to be assigned to the third century B.C.

The papyrus has been subjected to an illuminating and critical study by Monsieur G. Daressy, whose knowledge and skill in these matters and access to the papyrus make him a safe and trustworthy guide.¹

The Pentateuch presupposes in the reader an acquaintance with localities mentioned in the narrative of the Exodus: and it is to be presumed that the inhabitants of Palestine possessed a more or less accurate knowledge of the geography of the eastern Delta. But it does not by any means follow that the Egyptians and Palestinians gave identically the same names to the same places. Most of the names in Exodus have a distinctly Semitic appearance, as though they were either Semitic words, or else Semitised variants of the Egyptian. This, of course, complicates the problem.

The scene of the Exodus commences in Goshen. There was a Goshen in Judaea (Josh. x, 41), but Dr. Naville has demonstrated that the original of the Pentateuchal territory is to be sought in the Egyptian *kosem*, or *Gosem*, which is often mentioned upon the monuments, and includes the district embracing the modern *Wādī el Tumilat*, running between the River Nile and the Suez Canal.

In this valley Dr. Naville in 1883 explored a group of ruins styled *Tell el-Maskhūta*, and found they covered the site of an Egyptian town bearing the name of *Pt-Atum*, "the Abode of Atum," i.e., the Pithom of Exodus. The same place, or the surrounding district, also bore the name of *Thuku*, or *Thukut*, of frequent occurrence upon the monuments, and etymologically to be connected with the Hebrew Succoth.

Pithom is only mentioned once in the Old Testament. In other passages we have Etham, which looks very like a derivative of *Atum*: and פתם and אתם have a strong resemblance in Hebrew. In fact, the Septuagint would tend to show that they were once identical; for although in Ex. xiii, 20, the Greek has Ἐθαμ (Etham) in Num. xxxiii, 6, 7, the Septuagint has Πιθὼν (Pithom).

As might be expected, the town of *Pt-Atum* duly figures on the

¹ "La liste géographique du papyrus no. 31169 du Caire," par G. Daressy, *Sphinx*, Vol. XIV (Upsala, 1911), p. 155; and "La Bible et l'Égypte," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, Série V, Vol. V, December, 1911.

Following "the fort of the Rat" on the papyrus are four castellated towers, *Miktals*, or Migdols. The first is simply called *Miktal*, corresponding with the Migdol of Exodus; but the third is *Miktal* of Baal-Zephon."

Thus the new Spiegelberg Papyrus is of the highest importance to the Biblical student, for it apparently mentions Ha-hiroth, Migdol, and Baal-Zephon in the same order as we find them in the Pentateuch.

In conclusion, I desire to thank Mr. E. J. Pilcher for his help in the preparation of this note.

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING JERUSALEM IN THE APHRODITO PAPYRI OF THE MOHAMMEDAN ERA.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

TRANSLATIONS of some of the best preserved of the many papyri concerning the early Mohammedan rule in Egypt, published by Mr. H. I. Bell, M.A., in the fourth volume of the *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, are being printed by him in the *Journal Der Islam*, of Strassburg.

A few of these refer to imposts demanded from Egypt for assisting in the erection of Moslem edifices at Jerusalem. The payment required being either in the form of workmen or materials. The buildings specified are a Mosque and the palace of the Amir al-Mu'minin. These documents are all dated in the 9th Indiction.

Papyrus No. 1366, omitting mutilated passages, reads:—

"Two labourers and one carpenter in Jerusalem for twelve
"months in the present Indiction and having made out the demand
"notes for them to the people of the separate places, we have sent
"them to you. On receiving the present letter, therefore, send
"the said labourers and skilled workman by your faithful man with
"instructions to hand them over their wages in gold; them
"and their wages in accordance with the powers given by our
"demand notes."

Number 1402 is of similar nature "concerning labourers and "skilled workmen for Jerusalem. In the name of God, Kurrah, etc." (Kurrah was the governor, and his full titles are omitted here.)

"The maintenance of the labourers and skilled workmen for the "Mosque of Jerusalem and the palace of the Amir al-Mu'minin.

"Docket. Brought by Abu Hassān, the courier, concerning "labourers and skilled workmen for Jerusalem."

Another papyrus (1414) is much the same.

Papyrus 1362, omitting some redundant phrases, is more prolix. It does not mention Jerusalem, but gives the building which occurs in the others:

"In the name of God, etc., concerning articles for the palace of "the Amir al-Mu'minin which is being built by Yahya B. Handalah "when we looked into the articles requisitioned from your "administrative district for the palace, we found it in arrear with "those contained in the under-written memorandum. On receiving "the present letter, therefore, send off with all speed the articles "with which your district is in arrear, not delaying any of them nor "yet sending any of the palm trunks except such as are good for "roofing,"

"In the 8th Indiction: Cloven palm trunks, 12; branches 1,000.

"In the 9th Indiction, A.D. 710: Cloven palm trunks, 9; branches 1,500.

"Docket. 9th Thoth, 9th Indiction. Brought by Abu Safwan, "the courier."

SPECIAL NOTE ON THE "ASYLUM-INSRIPTION" AT DAMASCUS.

By THE REV. J. E. HANAUER.

MY Damascus notes in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1911, commenced with a brief notice of a fragmentary inscription relating to the rights of sanctuary in connection, apparently, with the Great Church of St. John, the site of which is now occupied by the famous Mosque of the Omayyades; and I remarked that in the inscription the name of the "epis(copus)"—I ought to have said "archiepis(copus)"—or archbishop, as well as the date, etc., are missing.

Though the inscription itself is again hidden from sight, and the missing parts have not yet been recovered, I have come to the conclusion that it is possible, by deduction from known historical data, to assign it, with a considerable degree of safety, to the third decade of the fifth century, and even to suggest the names of the archbishop, emperor, etc. As, therefore, the inscription is not altogether devoid of historical value, I submit a few notes which will, I trust, be of some interest to readers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

COPY OF THE "ASYLUM-INSRIPTION."

+ΟΡΟΙΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΙΟΥ
 ΠΡΟΣΤΕΘΕΝΤΟΤΟΙΣ
 ΚΑΤΕΡΩΘΕΝΔΕΤΟΙΣ
 ΡΟΙΣΤΟΙΣΜΕΝΠΡΟΣΦΕΥ
 ΓΟΥΣΙΝΗΚΑΙΤΟΝΤΟΠΟΝ
 ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΥΣΙΝΕΧΟΝ
 ΤΕΣΑΣΦΑΛΕΣΤΟΙΣΔΕ
 ΑΠΑΓΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΕΙΤΟΥΝ
 ΔΙΑΓΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΕΝΤΕΥΘΕΝ
 ΟΥΚΕΧΟΝΤΕΣΑΣΦΑΛΕΙ
 ΔΝΔΙΑΤΟΟΥΤΩΔΥΤΟΥΕΧ
 ΤΥΠΩΘΗΝΔΙΥΠΟΤΕΤΟΥ
 ΔΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥΗΜΩΝΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣ

conjectural, the following

κοπου Δαμασκων.

The right of asylum possessed by many Greek and Roman cities and temples, especially that of Ephesus, having in process of time been much abused, was altogether abolished by Tiberius, except in the cases of temples of Juno and Esculapius (Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 60, 63; Brockhaus, *Conversations-lexikon*, art. "Asyl"). Later on, when Constantine had made Christianity the fashionable religion, the right of asylum was claimed by Christian churches, and although this claim was, during the fourth century, not recognized by the law,

yet being endorsed by the general consent of the people, godly bishops frequently availed themselves of the acknowledged custom in order to protect the helpless and oppressed, such as slaves fleeing from cruel owners, debtors pursued by relentless creditors, and even wealthy ladies who desired to shun the advances of suitors whom they disliked (see Greg. Naz., *Orat.*, XX, p. 353, as referred to by Neander in foot-note to page 205, *Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. II, Abt. I, edition of 1826).

St. Chrysostom having in this way defended some unfortunate persons from persecution by the worthless but then powerful Eutropius, the latter, in A.D. 398, obtained a law lessening and curtailing the right of Church asylum. In the following year came the downfall of the oppressor Eutropius, and the circumstance that in his peril he was glad to seek refuge at the church-altar from the embittered Gothic soldiery, and that Chrysostom himself used the privilege of sanctuary in order to shield him, made a profound impression, and the ruin of Eutropius and others, who had ventured to infringe upon the rights of sanctuary, came to be popularly considered as acts of Divine retribution. It was, however, not till A.D. 411 that Theodosius II issued his first law confirming and emphatically defining the rights of sanctuary as extending *not merely* to church altars, but to all courts, houses, gardens, corridors, passages and other places connected with churches as the property of the latter (see Brockhaus, as above), and directing such to be inviolable places of refuge for *unarmed* fugitives, whom it was made a capital offence to force from their shelter. It seems probable, therefore, that the inscription above mentioned was put up in consequence of this law. My reason for this idea is that in the following year (A.D. 432) another and modifying one was promulgated, which provided that if an unarmed slave should take refuge in church grounds, etc., the clergy were not to delay longer than one day before notifying his owner; and that the latter, out of respect to *Him* whose protection the fugitive had sought, was bound to grant the latter full forgiveness, take him back into his service, and refrain from punishing him (*Cod. Theodos.*, L. 9, title 45, 14, quoted by Neander in foot-note). At the date referred to, Damascus was the see of a prelate who was reckoned *second* in rank to the Patriarch of Antioch (Le Qinen, *Oriens Christ.* II, 834). The Patriarch of Antioch was at that time John, noted in connection with the proceedings at the First General Council of Ephesus.

I have no book at hand containing the names of the bishops from his diocese who accompanied him to Ephesus, but suggest that the list may include the name of the Archbishop or Metropolitan of Damascus.

Lastly, as the courts, etc., included within the precincts of the Great Church of St. John at Damascus were very extensive, it seems probable that several copies of this important sanctuary-notice were put up in different places, and there is reason to hope that complete ones may yet be discovered. *In sha Allah.*

There are still rights of asylum connected with the Mosque of the Omayyades at Damascus. I am told that last year when a fanatic struck a tourist it was not till the offender *had been enticed* out of the precincts that the police felt that they could arrest him; and some years ago, when a company of Turkish soldiers just returned from Yemen were ordered to get ready to go to Macedonia, they mutinied and rushed into the Mosque, where they remained till they had received their arrears of pay, etc. During this time the notables and other Moslems, sympathizing with them, sent provisions, bedding, etc. for their use, and took their part against the military authorities, who had finally to grant all that was asked.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF AIN-RIMMON WITH AIN-URTĀS (ARTĀS).

By PHILIP J. BALDENSBERGER.

As a rule, names of places have changed very little in the "Immovable East," and especially in the southern part of Palestine, unless some important event has led to a change for political purposes, or to commemorate special events. As soon as Jerusalem was conquered by David, Zion was called the "City of David" (2 Sam. v, 9), and by extension the whole town was thus known in his reign. Other cases are Luz, changed into Bethel (Gen. xxxv, 6 and 15) and Kirjath-Arba into Hebron (Josh. xv, 13). Why should such an important spring as Ain-Urtās or Artās never be mentioned, especially when we consider how near it was to

Jerusalem? Undoubtedly, because the name has been changed without any special mention of the fact, as in the above-named cases; and I have several arguments for the view that Ain-Artās and Ain-Rimmon are one and the same place.

When Joshua had to divide the land among the more powerful tribes, they knew very little of the geographical position of different towns, and may have called upon native Canaanites to furnish a list of names for every region, which were copied again later on when some tribe claimed their part. On this occasion, three men of each tribe were chosen (Josh. xviii, 6 and 9). Since I believe that these Hebrews spoke an entirely different dialect or language, we cannot be astonished if mistakes slipped in here and there when the orthography of names was not yet established.

In the first part of the inheritance of Judah, thirty-eight names are mentioned, separated by the conjunction "and," though the addition gives only twenty-nine cities with their villages. Probably the copyists, knowing the country and the language imperfectly, added *and* to every double name: thus Kedesh *and* Hazor; Hazor *and* Hadathah; Kirjath *and* Hezron which is Hazor; Iim *and* Azem; Ain *and* Rimmon: where it ought to read Kedesh-Hazor, Hazor-Hadathah, Kirjath-Hazor, Iim-Azem, Ain-Rimmon.

To recompense Simeon, towns "within the inheritance of Judah's lot" (Josh. xix, 9) were taken, and the copyist says again here Ain, Rimmon, and Ether and Ashan, four cities and their villages (Josh. xix, 7), which in a parallel passage are rectified into "Etam and Ain, Rimmon and Tochen and Ashan," five cities (1 Chron. iv, 32). These cities were only imperfectly identified as of minor importance and because the tribe of Simeon's lot was supposed to be necessarily south of Judah, as would be seen later, when in course of time the country was better known to the Jewish inhabitants. The older grouping was put aside when the returning Jews of the Captivity asked for a portion to live in. Nehemiah mentions the cities of Judah (Simeon had ceased to exist as a tribe) "between Beersheba and the valley of Hinnom" (Neh. xi, 30) and groups them often very far apart but writing correctly Ain-Rimmon without the conjunction "and" (Neh. xi, 29).

As a shepherd boy, David came here almost daily "to the green pastures, beside the still-waters," in contrast to the wild Valley of Tochen. As soon as "King Solomon" was on the throne, he embellished the environs, comparing his beloved to the sealed

fountain and the "inclosed gardens" (whence the mediaeval "Hortus Conclusus") with the pomegranate gardens (Cant. iv, 13), and pomegranates continued to grow here till they were destroyed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Bedouin incursions and by new culture. But when Rauwolff visited the "Horto Solomonis prope Bethleëmam" in 1576, pomegranates were still thriving.

A more positive argument in favour of Ain-Urtās as Ain-Rimmon can be found in Zechariah's vision of the elevated plain around Jerusalem ready for judgment day: "All the land shall be turned as a plain from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem, and it shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place" (Zech. xiv, 10). If we take Jerusalem as a centre, the distance north to Geba is about the same as south to Ain-Rimmon, the most appropriate proof.

The grouping of the cities in 1 Chron. iv, 32—Etam and Ain-Rimmon and Tochen and Ashan—is also in favour of Ain-Rimmon being Artās. Ether or Etam is certainly the Khurbet el-Khokh near Ain-Atan; Ain-Rimmon is Artās itself; Tochen must be looked for in the Wādy et-Tawahēn, the valley below Artās towards Kharētun, and Ashan may be Khurbet Shenneh, south of Tekoa.

The Crusaders called the place Artais: this may be a corruption of Hortus and Eardass (Farādis) combined. Why the old name of Ain-Rimmon did not survive is perhaps on account of the centuries of strife, and the continuous destruction of its inhabitants. The Christian inhabitants of Hortus from 1099 to 1188 had very likely forgotten the old name, and when they were exterminated the Crusading name alone remained, modernized into the present Arabic Urtās or Artās (ارطاس).

A NOVEL THEORY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

BY THE REV. D. LEE PITCAIRN, M.A.

IN an article in the *Q.S.* of January, 1912, an apparently quite novel theory of the traditional Holy Sepulchre is put forward. The author accounts for the church standing within the walls of the city by the explanation that it was not intended to cover the actual cave, but to be a memorial tomb. This theory may be suggested

by the position of certain Moslem tombs of prophets in highly improbable sites, as the tomb of Abel at Abila, near Damascus, and will perhaps be discussed on its merits by the experts of the *P.E.F.* But it is certainly not what the historian Eusebius understood and described as taking place in his time. I quote him from an article by the Rev. Malcolm MacColl in the *Contemporary Review* of February, 1893. He says that the Emperor Hadrian had desecrated the site of the Holy Sepulchre by building upon it a temple of Venus; and that by the order of Constantine the temple was demolished, and after the mound had been removed the sacred cave was found uninjured underneath it. Evidently the Christians of the fourth century believed that they had recovered the actual Sepulchre after its remaining concealed for over two centuries, and they well knew where to look for it. There was no need to erect a memorial tomb when they had the original. Others may argue, as Mr. J. M. Tenz has done in the *Q.S.* of last October, from the fact of there being other old Jewish tombs near the Holy Sepulchre, that the site was outside the ancient Second Wall. I only wish to point out that the idea of a memorial tomb was not present to the minds of those who built the church.

Why do people copy one another in calling this rediscovery of the Holy Sepulchre, as related by Eusebius, a miraculous discovery? Eusebius describes no miracle, but an ordinary archaeological investigation, the pulling down of a building which had stood for about two hundred years on a certain well-known site, and the making of an excavation under the ruins in search of what was known to have formerly existed there. People who write of this as "a miraculous discovery" are confusing it with "the Invention of the Cross," a legend referring to the same time but resting on the authority of writers who lived about a century later. These ecclesiastical historians, Rufinus, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, relate the story of the Empress Helena being guided to the site of Calvary by an aged Jew, and discovering by excavation at a considerable depth the three crosses, the Saviour's cross being identified by a miracle of healing. This discovery is not mentioned by Eusebius who was at Jerusalem at the time, and his silence is significant.

DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

By DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

The Spring Visit in 1912 (made May 30th).

THIS visit was unfortunately made a month later than is usual, and from this cause the levels, though high, are probably below the *maxima* reached. There must have been a great deal of evaporation, and consequent fall in level, during the dry, hot month of May. To my great disappointment I was detained through a professional engagement, and my friend Mr. Hornstein again—as so many times before—most kindly took my place.

He left Jerusalem May 29th at 4.30 p.m. (Bar. 27.35) and reached the lower Khan on the Jericho road at 8.15 p.m. After a rest there he started at 2 a.m. (May 30th) and descended to the Jericho plain by the *Akbat esh-Sherif*. On the hill overlooking *Wadjet-Uhamik* he found a guard of soldiers stationed, on account of the many robberies which have occurred there recently.

Ain Feshkhah was reached at 7 a.m. (Bar. 31.15), Temp. of air 73.4° F., water 75.2. There was a slight breeze from the S.E. and the “white line” was distinct running from S.W. to N.E.

The oasis looked fresh, the abundant reeds being beautifully green and the springs plentiful.

The Level. The measurement at the P.E.F. rock was 11 ft. 5½ ins., a rise of 2 feet since the autumn. At the pool the rise was only 14 ins., the rock in the pool was over a foot below the surface.

Animal life observed comprised two gazelles, a hare, sand partridges, storks, and wood pigeons.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.
א	'		כ	<u>kh</u>
ב	b		ל	<u>l</u>
ג	<u>bh</u>		מ	<u>m</u>
ד	<u>g</u>		נ	<u>n</u>
ה	<u>gh</u>		ס	<u>s</u>
ו	<u>d</u>		פ	<u>p</u>
ז	<u>dh</u>		צ	<u>f</u>
ח	<u>h</u>		ק	<u>z</u>
ט	v, w		ר	<u>k</u>
י	<u>z</u>		ש	<u>r</u>
כ	<u>h</u>		ת	<u>sh</u>
ל	<u>t</u>			<u>s</u>
מ	<u>y</u>			<u>t</u>
נ	<u>k</u>			<u>th</u>

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
ا	'		د	<u>d</u>
ب	b		ت	<u>t</u>
ث	<u>t</u>		ظ	<u>tz</u>
ج	<u>th</u>		ع	<u>e</u>
ح	<u>g</u>	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	<u>gh</u>
خ	<u>h</u>		ف	<u>f</u>
د	<u>kh</u>		ك	<u>k</u>
ذ	<u>d</u>		ك	<u>k</u>
ر	<u>dh</u>		ل	<u>l</u>
ز	<u>r</u>		م	<u>m</u>
س	<u>z</u>		ن	<u>n</u>
ش	<u>s</u>		ه	<u>h</u>
ص	<u>sh</u>		و	<u>w</u>
ض	<u>z</u>		ي	<u>y</u>

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

